DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 152 864 UD 018 041

AUTHOR Sigueland, Ann; And Others
TITLE Desegregation: What's Best For All of Our Children?
INSTITUTION Church Council of Greater Seattle, Wash.
PUB DATE 78
NOTE 121p.; Some parts of document may bot reproduce clearly due to colored background

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$6.01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Church Role; *Community Education; Community Resources; *Conflict Resolution; Cultural Pluralism; *Curriculum Guides; Laws; Manuals; *Racial Integration; *School Integration
IDENTIFIERS *Washington (Seattle)

ABSTRACT

Members of the Church Council of Greater Seattle decided that the school desegregation plan adopted by that city in 1977 is workable and will help to end racial inequalities in education. This curriculum guide on desegregation issues is intended for use in a 2-9 week series of adult education classes in area churches. It is divided into nine resource sections. Topics addressed include: desegregation history, desegregation law, segregation remedies, community opinion, and pluralism. Remaining sections consist of a slide show, a theological discussion on school desegregation, an overview of desegregation activities being planned for Seattle and material concerning community action. Preceding each of these sections is a lesson plan for a class session. This plan focuses on the resource material which follows. (GC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Ann Siqueland
Church Council of Greater Seattle
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND TO USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

DESEGREGATION: WHAT IS BEST FOR ALL OF OUR CHILDREN

Prepared by

Ann Siqueland, Desegregation Project Coordinator

ED152884

A Resource Book

and

Adult Education Curriculum Guide

for

Seattle Area Churches

A Project of the Task Force on Racial Justice in Education

Rev. David Colwell, Chairperson

Church Council of Greater Seattle

Rev. Dr. William B. Cate, President-Director

UD016041

Funded by Washington Commission for the Humanities

CREDITS

Project Staff:

Desegregation Coordinator: Ann Siqueland

Assistant Coordinator: Nancy Carlin

Humanists and Resource People for the Project:

The Rev. Edward Boyd
The Rev. Edward Iwamoto
Mr. Juan Juarez
Mr. Donald Kazama
Mr. Paul Kuroiwa
Dr. Hubert Locke
Mr. Phil Mortenson
The Rev. Dr. Cecil Murray
Mr. Eugene Peterson

Text Written By:

Ms. Nancy Carlin
Dr. Hubert Locke
Mr. Phil Mortenson
Mr. Eugene Peterson
Ms. Ann Siqueland

Graphics and Art Work:

The Rev. Kieran Healy
Ms. Joan Stewart
Mr. Robert Westphal
Cartoons Courtesy of WILPF

Slide Show:

Produced by: The Rev. David Bloom
Ms. Saye Sutton
Narrator: Mr. Jim Wilson

ACTION OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

May 14, 1954

The Brown Decision

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

December 8, 1977

Mr. Donald Olson
President
Seattle School Board
815 4th Avenue North
Seattle WA 98109

Dear School Board Members:

We are writing to compliment you on the hard work which has been in progress during the last twelve months on plans to end racial imbalance in Seattle.

It is our impression that the plan currently proposed for Board adoption on December 14th is a good one. As it is written, the plan addresses the issues of equality of educational opportunity, equity of student movement between minority and majority students, and the maintenance of racial identity; the Seattle Plan is a fair one. It also provides for the improvement and maintenance of a high quality of education in the City.

We continue to pledge our support to efforts to implement the plan during the next two years.

Sincerely,

E. Wayne Roberts, Executive Minister, AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES

Loren E. Arnett, Executive Minister, WASHINGTON ASSOCIATION OF CHURCHES

Robert H. Cochrane, Bishop, EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF OLYMPIA

L. E. Pitman, Regional Minister, CHRISTIAN CHURCH (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST)

W. Wilson Rasco, Synod Executive, UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, USA

Raymond L. Dahlberg, Superintendent, EVANGELICAL COVENANT CHURCH

A.G. Fjellman, President, LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

W. James Halfaker, Conference Minister, UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

Raymond G. Hunthausen, Archbishop, CATHOLIC ARCHDIOCESE OF SEATTLE

Wilbur W.Y. Choy, Bishop, UNITED METHODIST CHURCH

"Desegregation: what's best for all of our children?"

Church Council of Greater Seattle
Task Force on Racial Justice in Education
Rev. Dr. David Colwell
Chairperson

4759 15th Avenue N.E.
Seattle, WA 98105
(206) 525-1213

Ann Siqueland
Project Director
Nancy Carlin
Assistant Project Coordinator
Gary Iwamoto
Legal Aide

Funded in part by Washington Commission for the Humanities with the People Power Coalition

February 15, 1978

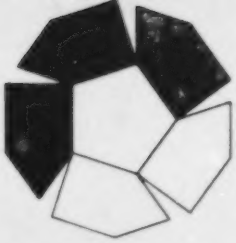
To: Seattle Area Churches and Synagogues,

The subject of desegregation is a complicated one; and we have attempted to compile within this book, information on every aspect of the subject. A glance at the table of contents will give you an idea of the information included. We hope it will be of help to you. The desegregation of Seattle's Public Schools may be the most significant change that we will experience in the city during this generation - significant because of the tremendous quantity of work, public support and community organization and discussion which surrounds the issue. Desegregation is also significant because it is an attempt to deal with a problem which has faced this Country and City for a long time - the problem of inequality of educational opportunity. School desegregation undoubtedly is not the "perfect" or "complete" solution to that problem, but it will be an enormous step in the right direction.

Seattle's desegregation effort will touch the lives of everyone in the City and the surrounding suburbs. We are all involved. And it will be our choice whether we desegregate our schools peacefully while enhancing the quality of education, or whether we follow the bad example of some other cities in the country and put Seattle in the national news as a place where desegregation resulted in racial conflict. It is my prayer that Seattle will continue to be able to look with pride at itself two years down the road, having eliminated segregation in a just equitable and peaceful manner. This is our challenge.

On the 14th of December, 1977, the Seattle School Board adopted a comprehensive desegregation plan which, when implemented over the next two year, will make Seattle the first major city in the United States to end public school segregation without the need for Court involvement.

The Seattle Plan for the Elimination of Racial Imbalance was developed with an unparalleled level of community involvement, and has received the endorsement of a broad base of community organizations and leaders. There is, however, opposition to the plan because it relies on strategies which reassign some students for some of their years in public school. Clearly, not every member of any congregation in Seattle feels that The Seattle Plan is the most desireable approach to desegregation.



"Desegregation: what's best for all of our children?"

Church Council
of Greater Seattle
Task Force on Racial
Justice in Education
Rev. Dr. David Colwell
Chairperson

4759 15th Avenue N.E.
Seattle, WA 98105
(206) 525-1213

Ann Siqueland
Project Director
Nancy Carlin
Assistant Project Coordinator
Gary Iwamoto
Legal Aide

Funded in part by Washington Commission for the Humanities with the People Power Coalition

It is my clear impression, however, that it is a workable, and fair plan, and deserves careful study--Seattle's extensive history of voluntary desegregation efforts -- a fifteen year history -- has convinced me that voluntary strategies will not do the job.

Numerous people in Seattle are in the process of considering what their personal action will be in relationship to the issue of desegregation. The material in this book is designed to help members of local congregation discuss the issues involved.

A discussion of desegregation efforts in your church will help prepare congregational members, and others who may attend, for desegregation.

Besides the material included in this book your congregation has available to it rescurce people (see list of Resource People at back of book) a slide show and a tape of a theological discussion on desegregation. These as well as additional resources can be obtained by calling Ann Siqueland or Nancy Carlin at the office of the Church Council 525-1213.

Thank you for your help in making Seattle's desegregation effort work.

Peace,

Ann Siqueland

Ann Siqueland,
Desegregation Project Coordinator
Church Council of Greater Seattle

AS/ds

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
The Brown Decision (excerpts)	iii
Bishops' Letter	iv
Letter to Seattle Area Churches and Synagogues	v-vi
Introduction to Teachers' Manual	1-4
SESSION ONE (Desegregation History)	
Curriculum Guide for Session One	5-6
School Desegregation - What are the lessons to be learned from other Communities by Dr. Hubert G. Locke	7-11
History of School Desegregation in Seattle - Time Line by Eugene Peterson and Nancy Carlin	12-16
Overview of School Desegregation in Seattle by Eugene Peterson	17-22
New York Times Article	23-24
SESSION TWO (Desegregation Law)	
Curriculum Guide for Session Two	25-26
School Integration Law Since Brown by Phillip Mortenson	27-32
Northern Cases by Phillip Mortenson	33-37
School Desegregation in Washington State by Phillip Mortenson	38-40
SESSION THREE (Segregation Remedies)	
Curriculum Guide for Session Three	41-42
Segregation Remedies by Phillip Mortenson	43-49
Student Movement Strategies by Nancy Carlin	50-52
What Does Busing Mean? by Nancy Carlin	53-56
SESSION FOUR (Community Opinion)	
Curriculum Guide for Session Four	57-58
Asian American Education Association	59-60
American Constitutional Liberties Association	61
American Civil Liberties Union	62
Central Area School Council	63
Chamber of Commerce, Seattle	64
Church Council of Greater Seattle	65-69
City of Seattle	70
City-Chamber of Commerce-Municipal League-Urban League Letter	71
Citizens for Voluntary Integration Committee	72
Coalition of Black Organizations	73-76
Committee for South East Seattle Schools	77
Community Meeting Summary	78-79
Compensatory Education Parent Advisory Council	80-81
District Wide Advisory Committee for Desegregation	82
League of Women Voters of Seattle	83
Municipal League of Seattle and King County	84
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	85

Student Action Force on Education 86
Seattle Council of Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations 87
Seattle Teachers Association 88
Seattle Urban League 89
Transfer Parents Statement 90-92

SESSION FIVE (Slide Show)

Curriculum Guide for Session Five 93-94

SESSION SIX (A Theological View of School Desegregation)

Curriculum Guide for Session Six 95-96

SESSION SEVEN (What is Being Planned for Seattle?)

Curriculum Guide for Session Seven 97-98
School Board Resolutions 77-8, 77-9, 77-28 99-103
Time Line for Desegregation Implementation 104-106

SESSION EIGHT (Pluralism)

Curriculum Guide for Session Eight 107-108
A Pluralistic Approach to Public Education by Paul Kuroiwa . . . 109-114
Some Minority Students' Experiences of School 115-118

SESSION NINE (Plans for Action) . . . . . .

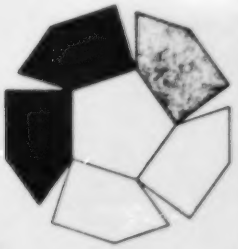
Curriculum Guide for Session Nine 119-120
Community Resources for Conflict Resolution 121-122

Resource People, List of 123-124

Bibliography 125-126

INTRODUCTION TO TEACHER'S MANUAL FOR

DESEGREGATION : WHAT'S BEST FOR ALL OUR CHILDREN?



This book is intended for use as the curriculum for a 2-9 week series of adult education classes in Seattle area churches. As such, we have laid it out in the form of a Teacher's Manual. The white page preceding each of the the book's nine resource sections is a lesson plan for a class session discussing the subject of the resource material which follows. For example, a white lesson plan precedes the section of legal resource material printed on blue paper.

A discussion leader does not have to follow the sequence of class sessions, nor is it necessary to cover all nine sessions if time does not permit.

As you begin to plan for your series of classes:

1) Identify a time, a date and a place for the class. The most common format has been 6-8 one hour classes on Sunday morning during the regular education hour. However, a weekday evening series may attract people who do not normally attend your church.

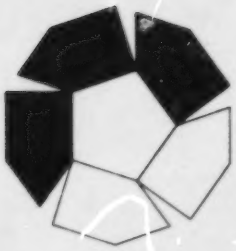
2) Review the "Outline" of class sessions which follows and decide which subject will be covered during each class session. If you would like help with this, call Ann Siqueland or Nancy Carlin at 525-1213. The Pastor/Rabbi and Parish Education Committee in your church may also have ideas.

COURSE OUTLINE

1. SESSION ONE: Desegregation History - Efforts in Seattle and elsewhere. Dr. Hubert G. Locke and Eugene Peterson, who prepared the material for this session (in the yellow section of the book) are available to conduct this class.

2. SESSION TWO: Desegregation and the Law
Phillip Mortenson, a local attorney, assembled the resource material for this session (in the blue section of the book). Mr. Mortenson can be asked to speak at this class session.

3. SESSION THREE: Segregation Remedies
This material (in the goldenrod section of the book) details court-action approved techniques for ending school segregation. It was prepared by Phillip Mortenson and Nancy Carlin, who are available to lead classes on these topics.



4. SESSION FOUR: Community Opinion
The pink section of this book contains the statements of numerous Seattle area organizations on school desegregation and the Seattle Plan.

5. SESSION FIVE: Slide Show
A 26-minute slide show which gives an overview of the dynamics of school desegregation in Seattle and the church community's role in implementing a just and peaceful desegregation plan, is available from the Church Council by calling 525-1213. It can also be used as an introduction to the series of classes or for womens' groups or for couples' groups programs.

6. SESSION SIX: A Theological View of School Desegregation
A 25-minute tape of a discussion among an ecumenical, multi-racial group of Seattle area clergy is the main resource for this session. It can be obtained by calling the Church Council, 525-1213.

7. SESSION SEVEN: What is Being Planned for Seattle?

On December 14, 1977, the Seattle School Board adopted the Seattle Plan for the Elimination of Racial Imbalance. Resource material for this session includes the Seattle Plan, which can be obtained by calling the School District's Desegregation Office at 587-5175, and also:

1. School Board Resolutions 77-8, 77-9, and 77-28.
2. Time Line for Desegregation Implementation

Members of the District staff can be invited to speak at this class session.

8. SESSION EIGHT: Pluralism
This material was intended to stimulate a discussion of the value of racial and ethnic diversity in the classroom. It was prepared by Paul Kuroiwa. The material is in the green section of the book. Juan Juárez is available to speak to classes on bi-lingual education.

9. SESSION NINE: Plans for Action
This class session has no prepared agenda, but is intended to be an open discussion for congregational members to address the issues of segregation and racism in the public schools so that they can identify ways to become involved in promoting justice. Issues raised during previous classes can be dealt with at this time. Class members will have considerably more information on the subject of Racial Justice in Education and can begin to develop strategies to address it.

3) Read the lesson plan for each of the classes you intend to hold and consult the list of Resource People indicated for that session.

4) Identify the resources and Resource People that you will need for each session and arrange as far in advance as possible for them to be made available to you. This can be accomplished by calling Ann Siqueland or Nancy Carlin at the Church Council Offices, 525-1213.

5) Publicize the class. Announce the class in your church newsletter or bulletin, talk with people you know about attending, and inform your local community newspaper. For suggestions on publicity, call Ann Siqueland or Nancy Carlin at the Church Council, 525-1213.

6) Call the Church Council to give us an outline of your class series.

NOTE: Any material included in the book may be reproduced for members of your congregation or others interested in having it.

Teachers' Manual

CURRICULUM GUIDE FOR CLASS SESSION

Class Session on

DESEGREGATION HISTORY

SESSION ONE

GOAL: To acquaint class members with the history of desegregation efforts in Seattle and across the United States.

RESOURCE MATERIAL for this class session (the yellow section following) includes a chronology of events regarding desegregation efforts in Seattle, a narrative overview of that history and an article entitled "Lessons to be Learned from Other Communities" (in the United States, where desegregation efforts have been made).

If you wish to use a resource person to lead the discussion on this session, refer to the list of Resource People in the back of the book. Dr. Hubert G. Locke and Eugene Peterson are available to speak to classes.

MATERIALS NEEDED: A board and chalk, or large sheets of paper and a felt pen.

FORMAT: A class discussion on the history of school desegregation, when not using a resource person as a speaker;

1. Review the significant dates and events outlined in the chronological account of Seattle's desegregation history with the class. (If the class wishes to have copies of the resource material included in this section, it can be reproduced for them.)

2. Ask the class members if they remember knowing about or participating in desegregation efforts in the past. List these past experiences on a chalk board or large piece of paper using a felt pen.

3. Ask the class members what issues or concerns the subject of desegregation raises for them. List all of these on a chalk board or on a large sheet of paper using a felt pen. (This list might include concern for the quality of education, the issue of busing, concern about education of minority students, etc.)

4. Ask the class members to identify their personal responses and feelings to memories of school desegregation. List these on a chalk board or on a large sheet of paper using a felt pen. (This list might include statements like "I'm afraid to have my child go to school far away from home" or "I feel very good about my child's experience in a multi-racial school", "What will happen if my child gets sick at school?" etc.)

SUMMARY: The information written on the chalk board or paper represents the personal history of class members in relationship to school desegregation. School desegregation is part of our collective and personal history, and this history will shape in part our response to what will happen in Seattle during the next two years.

"SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: WHAT ARE THE LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM OTHER COMMUNITIES?"

Prepared by: Dr. Hubert Locke

Our nation currently has some two decades of experience with the practicalities of school desegregation in local communities; in the fast-paced world of change in which we find ourselves, two decades of experience on any major social issue is a remarkable extensive body of data from which to work. And yet we appear as a nation to have learned little from the events of over twenty years; too many cities today are facing the problem of school desegregation, either under local community pressures or the mandates of federal courts, as if the issue had just been identified and as if there were no prior experiences of success or failure on which to build. Seattle, therefore, can hopefully benefit from a comprehensive assessment of other major, metropolitan experiences with regard to this issue, by seeking to replicate the workable strategies employed by other cities, and by avoiding their mistakes.

A comprehensive assessment of school desegregation experiences around the nation is not the purpose of this paper, nor can a typology of urban responses by offered, useful though the latter might be. There are, however, some useful highlights which emerge from other communities that can be instructive for our own city, both as hopeful signs, as well as caution signals.

First, it should not pass without notice that over the span of twenty years, school desegregation has proceeded at a faster pace, with greater effectiveness, and - with perhaps the exception of Little Rock and Louisville - with less overt violence in Southern communities than in the Northern cities. It may well be argued that the South had much more to do in this regard than the North (a contention with which I do not agree) or that residential patterns in the South have tended to make the task easier to accomplish in Southern communities than in the North. Whatever the explanations, the fact remains that the least sensitivity to the issues involved, the preponderance of delays in the face of the inevitable, the development of the least imaginative specific desegregation strategies, and the more volatile community responses to the prospect of school desegregation have tended to occur in Northern, rather than Southern communities.

Second, there is an increasing tendency over the past two decades for the specific problem of school desegregation to become enmeshed in a host of other, undoubtedly important, community issues, and for the purpose of school desegregation

to become lost in the process. It is absolutely vital to remember that the efforts which led to the Brown vs. Board of Education decision in 1954 was the demonstrable inequality of public educational opportunities which Black (and now other minority) children were receiving when compared with the educational opportunities available to white children.

This issue was thought to be most dramatically evident in the South; it should have been clear then and is crystal clear to the most casual of observers today, that the issue of inequality of educational opportunity is equally evident in the North, the Northeast, the Northwest and the West! Where the focus has been maintained on this single problem, and where public school desegregation has been seriously pursued as a mechanism for resolving this problem, communities have made significant, positive achievements. Where school desegregation per se has become the goal instead of a means toward a larger end, or where it has become entangled in other community issues (e.g., the financing of public education, collective bargaining prerogatives between teachers and school administrators, etc.) usually all the issues remain unresolved or are resolved ineptly, and the community is the poorer for it.

Third, there is sufficient body of collective urban experiences now for us to be able to affirm the indispensible importance of the leadership (or lack of it!) that school personnel themselves, particularly the school superintendent and members of the school board, bring to this issue. The evidence on this point is to be found in both the North and the South and can be found in communities from New York to New Mexico. As succinctly stated in a Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights in 1973:

> "The school superintendent plays a key role in determining the success or failure of desegregation in a community ... it is to him that teachers, principals, members of the school board, parents, and the entire community look for guidance and leadership. Through firm commitment and positive action he can do much to facilitate a successful transition from segregated to integrated education."
>
> ("Title IV and School Desegregation", p. 17)

Fourth, there are a number of factors which will influence whether the desegregation process on a given community is achieved with minimal friction or whether it occurs with maximum discord. There is no one, ideal method for desegregating schools; most communities have evolved a strategy for their school systems under

the combined pressures of federal law, federal agency enforcement efforts, a significant level of community concern and effective educational leadership. This calls for a maximum amount of open schools-community dialogue, and the attempt- which can be initiated only by the schools - to achieve a genuine partnership in what is at best a difficult and complex but also a critically urgent task.

If in summary we look at the experiences of other cities around the nation which have faced the critical problem of school desegregation, two fundamental lessons stand out above all else:

First, the involvement of concerned citizens committed to a peaceful resolution of the issue has made a critical difference in each city between order and chaos.

American cities across the nation have implemented a number of programs to desegregate the public schools. Some programs have been developed voluntarily; others have been imposed by the courts. No program to date works with one-hundred per cent effectiveness, since school attendance patterns are unfortunately tied to larger issues such as housing segregation and other tragic facts of American urban life which are much more difficult to resolve.

After a decade of intensive experiences with school desegregation however, one factor emerges clearly. Where citizens have been concerned, first and foremost, with upholding the law and with insuring that their community responds to the issue of school desegregation in a manner that is orderly and decent, that community has remained stable, has avoided the spectre of violence, and has addressed, with various degrees of success, one of the nation's most difficult social problems. In communities where concerned, positive community leadership has not emerged, precisely the reverse has occurred: divisive voices have moved into the forefront, social tensions have been fanned into open conflict, school children have been subjected to acts of hostility and violence, and the community itself has suffered economically, socially and morally.

Community leadership and community involvement can make a difference, therefore, in Seattle as it has all across the nation. Citizens may honestly differ about how best to desegregate the public schools, but no community can afford a debate or disagreement on whether the schools should be desegregated. It is the law, and as a law-abiding people, we must uphold it. The basic questions facing the citizens of Seattle is whether we will face this issue with maturity and moral decency, continuing a tradition of civic pride which makes Seattle one of the most

desirable urban communities in the nation, or whether we will become another in a tragically growing list of American cities that have become centers of conflict and hostility over this issue!

Second, most of the cities that dragged their feet on the issue of school desegregation lost in the process the battle for quality education.

If we look again at urban experiences throughout the United States, and especially in Northern cities we find a pattern of community response on this issue that is almost predictable: 1) Communities began to react to local appeals for school desegregation. 2) Various voluntary measures to achieve school desegregation are proposed which attempt also to deal with the issue of improving the quality of public education. 3) Voluntary efforts are half-heartedly supported by some, resisted by others. 4) The Courts are forced to step in and mandate a desegregation plan. 5) A court-imposed plan will primarily deal with the question of numbers of students who must be desegregated, not with the quality of education. 6) Community energies, planning, and resources must then be consumed in responding to the "numbers game" rather than that of a quality integrated education for all students.

The lesson? It means that this school year may be the last time that citizens of this community will have an opportunity to achieve both school desegregation and an improvement in the quality of public school education. The Seattle Public Schools is currently implementing a magnet school plan and planning a comprehensive plan to eliminate all racial imbalance by September, 1979. Many citizens may have serious questions about this forthcoming plan; their questions are appropriate but this may be the last time Seattle can desegregate without court intervention. As the Christian Century of March 8, 1972 notes, "The connection between housing integration and school integration is no mystery. Only open housing will end segregation." The Public Schools cannot resolve the question of open housing. That is an issue which involves every major institution of our society: banks and business institutions, real estate firms, and labor organizations, insurance corporations and churches, and many others.

We cannot wait until we address the larger issue of open access to housing in our society to resolve the issue of school desegregation. The Districts desegregation plan may not be the best answer but it is the one seriously proposed alternative we face. If the community believes it will fail, then it is certain to fail, simply because the community will not support it. If we give it a chance

to work, it can work in Seattle as it has worked in Houston and in other cities. One positive factor in the plan is that it does try to address the question of quality in public school education as well as the issue of school desegregation. Whether that plan succeeds or fails is a community choice - and the alternatives, if it should fail, are not nearly as hopeful.

HISTORY OF SEATTLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS DESEGREGATION EFFORTS

TIME LINE ON DESEGREGATION SIGNIFICANT DATES

Prepared by: Eugene Peterson

1. 1961 - 1963 - Minority impacted schools were identified in the Central Area.

2. 1963 - The Seattle School District implemented its Voluntary Racial Transfer Program, and Blacks were to be bused as the major desegregation effort; 1,400 was the maximum number recruited.

3. May 4, 1965 - Only 90 pupils applied for VRT transfers; only six of these pupils came from the elementary schools; only sixteen were white transers.

4. May 6, 1965 - The Seattle Urban League proposed the Triad Plan. This Plan entailed pairing school grades in different buildings and cross town busing.

5. May 13, 1965 - The Seattle School Board rejected the Urban League Triad Plan. The School Board supported a position that desegregation is a secondary bi-product of quality education.

6. March 18, 1966 - A law suit was filed in federal court on behalf of 30 Black students. The relief sought was the end of minority isolation in Central Area schools and the development of a comprehensive desegregation plan.

7. March 31, 1966 - A Boycott of Central Area schools was carried out to protest the lack of movement on desegregation by the School Board.

8. June 19, 1966 - The Seattle School's Superintendent, Dr. Forbes Bottomly, proposed an "education centers concept". It entailed:
   1. Neighborhood schools (grades K-4) feeding into education centers (grades 5-14).
   2. A continuous progress form of education was to go on in the centers.

9. December 16, 1967 - Superintendent Bottomly announced a desegregation plan. Highlights of the plan included:
   1. Indication of state support for a 4-4-4 plan. (Elementary Schools K-4, 4-year middle school and 4-year high schools).
   2. Mandatory pupil assignments were essential.
   3. A proposal of attendance boundary changes to incorporate suburban districts in the Seattle desegregation effort.
   4. State support for pupil transport was available.

   (The Seattle School Board adopted this plan in the summer of 1967.)

10. Early part of 1968 - The Central Area community debated the pros and cons surrounding the proposed closure of Horace Mann Elementary School.

11. March 7, 1968 - Central Area Civil Rights Committee proposed the closure of Horace Mann Elementary. Washington Jr. High School would cease to feed into Garfield, Washington would be converted to other community use, and reducing Garfield's enrollment from 1600 to 1206 students. Three-hundred compulsory white transfers should be part of the 1206 students attending Garfield. Finally, the group proposed the elimination of the 5th and 6th grades at Madrona Elementary. Strong negative community response arose to the proposal.

12. March 28, 1969 - Superintendent Bottomly made an important proposal:
    1. Close Horace Mann
    2. Keep Garfield High open
    3. Turn Washington Jr. High into a multi-racial middle school by Sept. 1969.
    4. Make Meany and Hamilton into middle school by 1971.
    5. Designate Garfield as a magnet school.

13. July 9, 1968 - The Garfield music department was given authorization to solicit $120,0 for the establishment of a fine arts magnet at Garfield. A secondary magnet was also proposed in the life sciences area. The $120,000 needed was successfully raised in the local business community.

14. November 11, 1970 - The Seattle School Board decided, tenatively, to go ahead with further desegregation efforts. The Board Committed itself to: a) the desegregation of Meany - Madrona Middle School and, b) the establishment of multi-racial middle schools in the Roosevelt and Lincoln areas by Sept. 1971. This would entail the movement of approximately 600 students from the Roosevelt and Lincoln areas to the Garfield area and 600 Central area middle school students the other way.

15. Citizens Against Mandatory Busing (CAMP) put the School Board on notice that, in response to the tentative desegregation proposal, they would:
    1. Seek an injunction barring mandatory pupil re-assignment.
    2. Institute a recall action against the Seattle School Board.
    3. Seek anti-busing legislation at the State level.

16. January 28, 1971 - The School Board adopted a new desegregation resolution - this resolution deviated from the November 11 tentative desegregation proposal in the following ways:
    1. The 5th grade in north end schools were eliminated from the plan.
    2. Three north end Middle Schools - Ekstein, Hamilton and Wilson serving 6th through 8th grade students were created.
    3. Established desegregation target goals: a) no less than 15% and no more than 25% minority student population would exist in any school, b) racial segregation in the Lincoln, Garfield and Roosevelt areas would be eliminated by Sept. 1972, and all de facto segregation in Seattle School District would be ended by 1973.

17. July 29, 1971 - The Central Area School Council (CASC called for a desegregation plan that would provide either a 50-50 or 60% white 40% black racial mix in Central area schools. This is a revision of previous desegregation plans advanced by the Council which had called for:
    1. Placing Garfield, Roosevelt and Lincoln High schools in the Central Area administrative unit.
    2. Designating a new Central Area administrative unit for all grades K-12 with a 70% white, 30% black student racial distribution in all grades.

18. August 10, 1971 - Superior Court Judge William J. Wilkins halted proposed Seattle School District desegregation by ruling in favor of the CAMB suit.

19. August 18, 1971 - Judge Wilkins signed the order banning the Seattle School Board's mandatory middle school desegregation plan. He called for a one-year delay of the plan, thus invalidating the November 11 and January 28th, 1971 Board desegr gation resolutions.

20. January 6, 1972 - The Washington State Supreme Court certified the recall petitions brought by CAMB against the Seattle School Board members. Significantly, the School District's proposed middle school mandatory busing plan was ruled insufficient grounds for recall of the School Board, as CAMB had requested and other charges were made in the School Board recall petitions.

21. March 21, 1972 - The School Board split on a vote over the desegregation issue. Swain Waggoner and Smith were in favor of going ahead with desegregation in some form, while Chafe, Cowles and Alexander called for some form of delay.

22. March 30, 1972 - The Seattle School Board approved a voluntary desegregation plan. The important features of the plan were:
    1. Elementary school pairings. Two pairings were to be in operation by Sept. 1972.
    2. The pairings were to be accomplished under the State segregation standard, which said that 40% or more of one minority group in a school student body constituted de facto segregation.
    3. Voluntary methods of student movement were to be employed in the pairing plan.

23. April 6, 1972 - The Washington State Supreme Court overturned the Superior Court (Judge Wilkin's) permanent injunction banning mandatory assignment in Seattle's middle school desegregation plan. The Court decision was unanimous.

24. September 6, 1972 - Middle School Desegregation began in Seattle. Seattle became the largest school district in the nation to begin desegregation without a court order. One thousand, one hundred fifty-nine school students were scheduled to be involved in cross-town busing.

25. June 6, 1974 - Seattle School District attorney, Gary Little put the School Board on notice that unless they moved ahead and desegregated the rest of Seattle Public Schools, the City faced the possibility of a court order similar to the ones issued in Denver and San Francisco.

26. June 13, 1974 - The Seattle School Board adopted Board Resolution 74-14 addressing desegregation. The main points of the resolution were:
    1. The desegregation of Garfield High School was to be accomplished by the beginning of the 1975-76 school year.
    2. The elimination of white transfers out of the Garfield attendance area by June 1975.
    3. The adjustment of some attendance boundaries.
    4. Garfield would become an exemplary magnet school.
    5. Maintain Middle Schools
    6. Paired Schools
    7. Multi-ethnic/multi-cultural Secondary Schools
    8. Strengthen the Voluntary Racial Transfer Program
    9. Coordinate planning.

Between June, 1974 and the Summer of 1976-The following is a rough chronology of events:

27. The School Board amended Resolution 74-14. The effect of this action was to allow slippage in the provision of the resolution which had made it mandatory for all white students living in the Garfield attendance area to attend Garfield.

28. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare began in investigation of staff assignments in the District. The Office of Civil Rights of HEW contended that the placement of predominantly minority staff in minority isolated schools violated the law.

29. The School District and community protested to H. E. W., but gave in on the staffing issue when loss of federal funds seemed unavoidable. Minority staff in minority isolated schools were dispersed throughout the District, in effect desegregating Seattle's staff.

30. HEW indicated that pupil placement would be under consideration next.

31. January, 1977 - The Seattle School Board adopted a Voluntary Magnet School Desegregation Plan designed to desegregate the District in three years.

32. Winter & Spring 1977 - Community sentiment developed against the voluntary magnet desegregation plan as an effective desegregation technique. Strong community support for desegregation grew, however.

33. April, 1977 - The NAACP filed a complaint of civil rights violation with the U.S. Office of Civil Rights against the Seattle School Board charging that the District was running illegally (dejure) segregated schools.

34. May, 1977 - A coalition of potential plaintiffs (The Asian American Education Association, and The Church Council of Greater Seattle) joined the ACLU and NAACP to file a law suit if the School District did not move to implement a more effective desegregation plan.

35. June, 1977 - The Seattle School Board passed two resolutions: 1) defining racial imbalance (segregation) as 50% of a single minority or total minority population in a single school as 20% plus the District-wide average, and 2) setting a timetable to eliminate all racial imbalance by the Fall of 1979; half of the imbalance would be implemented by the Fall of 1978. (The proposed law suit was not filed.)

36. July, 1977 - The Office of Civil Rights announced that it would begin its investigation of the NAACP complaint in September and the investigation would take about a year.

37. August, 1977 - Magnet voluntary recruitment campaign is a success.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SEATTLE PLAN FOR DESEGREGATION

September 1977: The School District submitted the first draft of 5 planning models for desegregation to the DWAC for analysis and review.

September 30, 1977: After review and rewriting by the District, the 5 alternatives were submitted to the School Board and the public. Four of the plans were conceived by the Desegregation Planning Office. Plan 5, also known as the Triad Plan, was written by the Seattle Urban League.

October 13 - November 14, 1977: A series of community meetings on the 5 alternative plans were held. These meetings provided the opportunity for the public to become familiar with and comment upon each of the proposed plans. At each meeting, an explanation of the five plans and their impact on the community were presented, and the audience was asked to rate each alternative. Facilitators of these meetings were District Administrators, assisted by the PTSA, the League of Women Voters, the District Wide Advisory Committee, and the Urban League.

December 2, 1977: Dr. Moberly presented to the School Board and the community the initial version of the Seattle Plan for desegregation, a fixed-assignment grade reconfiguration with options in zones.

December 5-6, 1977: Two public hearings are held, first at Seattle Center and then at Mercer Junior High, in which the School Board listened to statements from a variety of community groups and indivduals on the merits of the Seattle Plan.

December 14, 1977: The School Board voted 6-1 to adopt the Seattle Plan for Desegregation and authorized Dr. Moberly to implement it in September 1978. Such action may lead to Seattle being the first major city in the U.S. to desegregate its schools without a court order.

OVERVIEW OF SEATTLE'S DESEGREGATION HISTORY

Prepared by Eugene Peterson

Why is Seattle faced with the issue of desegregation? Simply, because the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court case, Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, struck down the notion that separate educational facilities could be considered equal. In fact, the Court went as far as stating that segregated education negatively affects both the minds and hearts of school students. This ruling made it imparative that all School Districts implement some kind of desegregation plan.

Recently, Court cases in San Francisco, California and Denver, Colorado, have further impacted upon desegregation efforts in Seattle. The Denver case is particularly important since Denver has a city population similar to the city population of Seattle. Three significant points can be distilled from the Denver Court decision:

1. reversing action to desegregate constitutes "dejure" (by law) segregation and is unconstitutional,
2. if dejure segregation exists in part of a school system, the whole system is seen as being tainted. The result is that the whole system must be desegregated,
3. where a school district becomes aware of defacto (housing pattern, for example) segregation, it must move to ease the situation. This portion of the court's findings is very relevant to Seattle's desegregation problem, where one finds evidence of defacto segregation in the so-called Rainier corridor area (a large part of this area encompasses the Franklin, Cleveland, and Rainier Beach high school attendance areas.)

Finally, the recent Supreme Court ruling on the Louisville, Kentucky desegregation plan offers little in the way of direction to those involved with the desegregation of the Seattle Public School system. Essentially, the Louisville decision ruled against cross-district pupil movement as a desegregation method. Significiantly, however, the decision reinforced the need for desegregation within single school district boundaries. The conclusion can only be that Seattle must go ahead with efforts to desegregate the public schools or risk the imposition of a court-ordered desegregation process.

What follows will be an interpretative account of desegregation efforts in Seattle. Its purpose is to highlight significant trends, in Seattle's history of desegregation.

Desegregation in Seattle

The present population of Seattle, Washington is 538,000. Of this number 38,000, or slightly over 7% are Black. Most of these Black residents live in either the densely populated Central Area or towards South Seattle in what has come to be known as the "Rainier corridor". Seattle is therefore one of the few major metropolitan areas in the United States where Blacks comprise less than 10% of the total population. Nevertheless, desegregation has proven to be a very difficult and thorny issue for the community.

Several factors have complicated the task that decisionmakers face when addressing the question of desegregation. First, manpower needs of WWII and the subsequent expansion of the local aerospace industry contributed to a dramatic increase in the post war Black population. Second, Blacks became concentrated in the Central Area and Rainier corridor area due to formal and informal discriminatory housing and real estate policies.

In 1961 a University of Washington study revealed the impact that these two factors were having upon public school education. By 1957, the Seattle School District had an enrollment that could be broken down into the following categories:

White - 90.5%

Non-White- 9.5%

Black- 5.8% of the 9.5%

In addition, most Central Area elementary schools were defined as racially isolated. This meant that they possessed a majority of Black pupils in their population. At the high school level, Garfield H.S. was 51.9% non-white. Segregation was thus an ongoing phenomena in Seattle Public Schools as early as 1960.

It took local School Board members two additional years to begin to grapple with the reality of a segregated public school system. On August 28, 1963, the School Board unveiled a voluntary racial transfer program. The goals of this "voluntary program" was the reassignment of 1400 Black pupils to outlying attendance areas. In adopting this plan, the Seattle School Board showed its centrist leanings. Black pupils dispersion seemed to arouse little controversy in the larger community. In fact, an earlier Citizen's committee had recommended an open transfer strategy that would involve secondary schools primarily.

The voluntary racial transfer program had an advantage that often appeals to local boards when they are faced with the question of desegregation. The proposed dispersion of 1400 Black pupils throughout the Seattle Public School system would do little to alter the status-quo of public school education in Seattle. Therefore, the position taken by the Seattle School Board at this time can be characterized as basically reflecting moderate to conservative community values.

By 1965, it became clear that the voluntary racial transfer program was having no appreciable impact upon racial imbalance in Seattle Public Schools. The status quo was being preserved and the district was actually losing ground on the desegregation front. A May 4, 1965 report showed that only 16 out of 90 pupils who had applied for the voluntary transfer program were white. In addition, only 6 of the 90 were elementary school students. These figures indicated that the racial imbalance in Central Area elementary schools was actually increasing. Central Area schools were becoming more segregated with each succeeding year.

A March 18, 1966 suit, filled in Federal Court on behalf of 30 Black school students seemed to reflect the Black community's concern over the impact of the increasing segregation. The suit charged that 77% of all Black students were located in nine elementary schools. This followed a May 4th statement by the NAACP that chastized the School Board for not developing effective desegregation strategies and an Urban League proposal to pair elementary schools that would necessitate cross-town bussing.

The School Board's position remained unchanged during this volatile period in Seattle's desegregation history. As Richard Alexander, a present board member who served on the board also at this time has noted,

> "It was the Board's view at the time that, although integration should be the ultimate goal of the district . . . integration should proceed on a voluntary basis through the voluntary racial transfer program."

The status quo orientation of the School Board and the school District's administration soon eroded that little support board policy enjoyed within the Black community. Frustration reached its peak on March 31, 1966 when the Civil Rights leadership of the community staged a successful boycott of Central Area schools.

In spite of the successful boycott of Central Area schools, Black community spokesmen sought segregation remedies that embodied integrationist philosophy. For example, the Central Area Civil Rights Committee lobbied extensively for the closure of Central Area schools and the dispersion of Black pupils to better equipped and staffed outlying schools. One key proposal the Civil Rights Committee offered on March 7, 1968 called for the closure of Horace Mann elementary school and the end of the use of the Washington Jr. High facility as a local feeder school for Garfield High School. Washington was to be converted to other uses. Finally, the proposal called for Garfield's enrollment to be reduced from 1600 to 1206, with 300 of the remaining 1206 being added to the population via compulsory white transfers. The 5th and 6th grades would also be eliminated at Madrona elementary school.

The Civil Rights Committee proposal aroused the ire of the "nationalist" camp in the Black community and its leadership combined with liberal elements in the Black and white community. Their united efforts culminated in the creation of the Central Area School Council, an ad hoc advisory group with a moderate community control focus. This schism in Seattle's Black community over the question of public school desegregation reflected the changing mood among Blacks in general during the 1960s.

Black community opinion on integration and desegregation shifted radically as a result of the Black power revolt of the 1960s. New spokesmen began to emerge with links to what became popularly known as the "grassroots" of the community. Their statements reflected the alienation and frustration of the masses of poor Black in the inner city areas. They openly criticized the moderate integrationist approach of local school boards by calling into question the one-dimensional emphasis on cross-town bussing plans aimed at achieving some form of desegregation. Some of the emergent leadership even went as far as to proposed Black community control of local neighborhood schcols. Clearly, Seattle's relatively small Black community has not been able to escape the ideological split that has hampered larger Black populations in other metropolitan areas.

The combination of mounting community pressure and increasing racial isolation in Seattle's public schools forced the School Board to tenatively propose a series

of desegregation strategies. Board efforts culminated in a major desegregation resolution announced January 28, 1971. Basically, this resolution called for mandatory bussing of majority and minority students to achieve racial balance in the middle school system.

The Board had clearly shifted from its centrist policy orientation. Immediatly stiff opposition in the form of CAMB (Citizens Against Mandatory Bussing) surfaced. Nevertheless, after a heated battle that included the Washington State Supreme Court's intervention in support of the Seattle School District's position, Seattle embarked on a desegregation plan that included mandatory bussing at the middle school level.

School Board members were quick to recognize the potentially divisive force further desegregation planning could become. Retreat to a more centrist positon seemed both appropriate and necessary. Al Cowles, the lone Black School Board member, echoed this belief when he stated at a March 21, 1972 deadlocked board meeting that a plan to include the predominately white Roosevelt Area in desegregation efforts "would only serve to jeopardize desegregation by inflaming the public."

The School Board refused to make another effort to complete the desegregation of Seattle Public Schools until the School District attorny, Gary Little, informed the Board that court intervention might be right around the corner. Under this threat, the Board passed Resolution 1974-14 on June 13, 1974. At this time, the School Board went on record saying that it would desegregate Garfield High School by the beginning of the 1975 school year.

Since Board Resolution 74-14 has been issued, HEW at the federal level has called for broader implementation of desegregation both at Garfield High School and throughout the District. First, this lead to the reassignment of minority staff from minority isolated schools to majority populated schools. Second, it led the District to conceive the present voluntary desegregation plan for the 1977 school year which focuses upon the magnet school concept as the critical desegregation device.

Conclusion

Several conclusions can be drawn from the data presented above: 1) Seattle's first voluntary desegregation effort had severe drawbacks which insured its failure. These were a) focus only on minority student dispersion to achieve desegregation and b) little thought given to what happens at the end of the bus ride (the receiving school site). 2) The continued gap between school board policy statement and policy implementation led community residents to question the sincerity of Seattle's desegregation effort. 3) All interested community groups must be included in the desegregation planning effort. Their desegregation proposals must be carefully assessed and if proven feasible, implemented in place of administrative proposals conceived in planning centers lodged in the administrative center. This is the only way the goals of quality education and school desegregation can be joined together.

NOTE: This history of Seattle's last year of desegregation efforts is capsulized in the next two page account reprinted from the New York Times.

Seattle, Without Federal Pressure, Will Begin to Desegregate Schools

By LES LEDBETTER
Special to The New York Times

SEATTLE, Dec. 31 — This city, apparently with widespread support, has chosen to desegregate its public schools within two years through the mandatory assignment of students by race.

In reaching that decision, confirmed by a 6-to-1 vote of the elected school board on Dec. 14, Seattle is believed to have become the first major American city to desegregate its schools without a court order or other Federal pressure.

"Seattle, uniquely, has chosen to take its destiny in its own hands and voluntarily provide its own children with quality, integrated education," said Dr. William Maynard, desegregation administrator for the schools and an architect of the plan. The Seattle Plan, as the program is generally known here, links about half of the city's elementary school areas for mandatory exchanges.

"It's fair, just and does not put the burden on minority students," Dr. Maynard said.

There are options, especially for schools that have voluntarily integrated previously, and schools can choose various methods of achieving the desegregation goals.

Pairs or triads of schools have until Jan. 31 to propose configurations that would meet the goal of combined minority enrollment below the district average plus 20 percent.

The average minority enrollment in the current school year has been near 34 percent; so schools with 54 percent minority do not have to be integrated. Those above that figure must be, and those below the 34 percent figure must be.

The program, based on proposals by the local branch of the Urban League and refined through public hearings, attempts to insure that desegregation will not eliminate black-oriented schools or drive white students to the suburbs.

Each pair or triad of schools is expected to select certain grades to integrate. All students would therefore be in their own neighborhoods for part of their education and bused for another part.

The business community, politicians and community activists all have agreed on the goal of integrated classrooms, even if they have not agreed on the details of implementing this integration.

In winning such support, Dr. David Moberly, the superintendent of schools, seems to have succeeded where his predecessors have failed.

'Magnet' Schools Have Not Worked

Hired nearly two years ago to upgrade and integrate the classrooms, Dr. Moberly had to admit that voluntary desegregation with "magnet" schools had not worked, then rally support for involuntary integration.

"Many a superintendent has been fired over this issue," said Dr. Moberly. "It's now an occupational hazard."

There is opposition to the Seattle Plan, of course, but there has been no attempt to hold a recall election or challenge the legality of the cation.

Even those who oppose the plan say that Seattle will not face the divisiveness or the violence that had occurred when some cities have been required to desegregate public schools. "I don't believe we'll have the Boston kind of violence even if this plan is carried out," said Ellen Roe, the only school board member to vote against the mandatory desegregation plan and the most respected of its opponents.

The vote earlier this month to link certain schools to achieve racial balance came after more than 30 public hearings in 1977 and 24 years of limited, voluntary desegregation. The vote was in two parts. The first vote reaffirmed the two-year total desegregation goal to which the board committed itself in June. The second vote adopted the plan to reach this goal.

Plan Provides Options

"The beauty of this plan is that there are options," said Dr. Moberly. "Schools can try to determine what is best for them rather than having a Federal judge dictating or approving action. We retain control."

Even Jerome Page of the Urban League believes that Seattle has broken through some mythologies about the sanctity of neighborhood schooling and desegregation. "Farmers don't object; they've been busing to central schools for years," he said.

"The Seattle Urban League is enormously pleased with the school board's plan, based on a plan we first proposed in 1966," said Mr. Page.

"Voluntary integration doesn't work," he added. "Everything I've seen—and no one has contradicted me yet—indicates that when given a voluntary opttion, 9 percent of the white students and 10 percent of the black students will chose that option. And maybe 2 percent of the others."

School figures indicate that Seattle schools two-thirds nonminority. About 17 percent of the students are black and 14 percent are Asian, the rapidly growing minority here.

The pressure for mandatory desegregation has been maintained by the Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Greater Seattle Council of Churches.

The N.A.A.C.P., the A.C.L.U. and the churches said about a year ago that they were preparing to sue as discriminatory the Seattle school district in Federal court.

This threat is acknowledged to have convinced many residents that it is better to have a plan that they control rather than one supervised by a Federal judge.

One of the most unpopular men in this state is the Federal judge now overseeing Indian fishing rights that limit the catches of non-Indian fishermen.

Mrs. Roe, however, does not believe that the suit necessarily would have been successful and does not believe that the courts would not have been reasonable if they had ruled that the schools were segregated.

"A small number of players went out and sold the public on the idea that if they didn't act, the courts would," she said. "This may be counterproductive in that we will drive white people out to the suburbs."

"Let them move," said Richard L. Andrews, an associate professor of education at the University of Washington.

Recent studies by the city, which has no direct control over the independent school board, indicate that 2 percent of the white families here would move out of Seattle to avoid mandatory desegregation. Others, however, indicated that desegregation would be only one of their reasons for moving to the suburbs.

"We will say to them we are sorry to see you move, but we are determined to have the best integrated school system in the country and live up to our reputation as the nation's most livable city," said Mr. Andrews.

Chairman of Citizens Committee

The professor is a specialist in educational administration who was made chairman of the District Wide Area Committee, composed of 60 leading citizens, which provides citizen recommendations and leadership for the mandatory desegregation.

Ironically, the professor was appointed after he successfully sued the school administration to reopen five schools closed without environmental impact studies.

Others who have had significant impact in the coalescence of community support for the mandatory desegregation in the past year are outgoing Mayor Wes Uhlman and Mayor-elect Charles Royer, and civic groups such as the Seattle-King County Municipal League and Seattle Chamber of Commerce.

It is the support of the business community and the political community that is considered essential to the success of the plan and to its acceptance by the general public.

'Better for Our Community'

"We concluded as an organization that it would be better for our community if Seattle could be desegregated voluntarily by busing as a city rather than by court order," said Shan Mullin, a local lawyer who is chairman of the Municipal League, a nonpartisan civic "watchdog" group.

"The Seattle plan is vague at this time and we are writing questions we would like answered by the school administration," said Mr. Mullins. "But, generally, the plan has respectability and options we probably wouldn't have under a court order."

Organizing to fight the desegregation plan "legislatively and legally" is a group called Citizens for Voluntary Desegregation.

"We think we're going to appeal to a broad base of citizens, including minorities, who don't want their children forcibly bused for six years out of their neighborhoods," said Robert Yeastings, a local investment banker.

Seattle, Without Federal Pressure, Will Begin to Desegregate Schools

Continued

"None of us can imagine a Federal judge would have ordered a worse plan than the one the board adopted," said Mr. Yeastings, who said that he recognized the problems his group would have is not appearing to be racist.

Mr. Yeastings, however, agreed with other opponents of the desegregation plan that no violence would be tolerated in the city, and he said that his group, will oppose a school tax levy in the spring to express their disagreement with the school board.

"They recognize that they would be hurting all the students, not stopping the desegregation plan," said Cheryl Blakeney, a school board member who has been aggressively supporting mandatory desegregation for years in the city and who was chairman of the school board when Dr. Moberly was hired.

"They are not going to do anything to bring shame on Seattle," added Mrs. Blakeney.

There are some people here who worry that desegregation will still fail to educate the poor and minority groups who currently graduate with few marketable skills.

"They've got to hug those kids or kick them or do something to educate them," said Arthur Wake, a former security officer at schools. "They aren't dumb."

Tests Show Schools Improving

Dr. Moberly agrees that desegregation will not increase the quality of education here. But improvements in recent test scores indicate that Seattle schools are improving.

And Dr. Moberly stated that he was "amazed" at the commitment of the school board and the city to have mandatory busing without a court order.

Supporters of the mandatory desegregation plan agree that quality education is the only thing that will keep white students in the public schools.

"This is a unique, liberal city, open from racism as much or more than any city in the country in recent years, and we have to see it remains that way," said Mr. Page of the Urban League.

And late at night, local television stations here carry pro-integration messages produced by the Council of Churches.

Those public commercials, like the supporters and opponents of the Seattle Plan, insist that Seattle is too proud, too open these days to destroy its public schools and the good racial relations here with divisive battles over desegregation.

'Seattle is too proud, too open to destroy its good public schools and good racial relations . . .'

CURRICULUM GUIDE FOR

Class Session on

DESEGREGATION LAW

SESSION TWO

GOAL: To acquaint class members with some of the legal parameters which have structured school desegregation.

RESOURCE MATERIAL (the blue section following) included in this book is a history of the Supreme Court and several lower court decisions which have determined the course of school desegregation efforts in the United States since 1954.

Desegregation has basically come about through a legal process beginning with the 1954 Brown Vs. Board of Education decision. The issue is a complicated one. An attorney from your congregation may help lead this class session, or you may invite Phillip Mortenson, who wrote this section of material, to speak. (See the list of resource people in the back of the book.)

FORMAT (if you do not invite a speaker) :

1. Divide the resource material into sections and give each section to a small group within the class to read and discuss.

2. Have each small group appoint a spokesperson to report to the larger group on the material it read and discussed.

3. Close with a discussion of the following questions:

   (a) Is segregation a legal or moral issue for church people?

   (b) If it is a moral issue, why has desegregation required the extensive involvement of the courts?

   (c) What are the differences and the similarities of the legal dimension of desegregation in the South and the North? (Northern court decisions begin with the Denver Keyes case; you may wish to refer to Dr. Locke's material in Section One.)

   (d) Do class members feel that court intervention will be necessary to desegregate Seattle's schools? *

   (e) How do class members feel about the Church Council of Greater Seattle and other groups' (AAEA, NAACP, ACLU) expressed intent to file suit if the School District does not follow through with desegregation? *

   (f) How do class members feel about the current suit against the School Board to prevent the implementation of the Seattle Plan?

CONCLUSION: Read the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution to the class and the section of the Brown decision (see the first page (iii) of this book).

* A suit was threatened, but not filed, during months prior to the December 14, 1977 School Board Action.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION LAW SINCE BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION

PREPARED BY PHIL MORTENSON

On May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court decided Brown v. Board of Education (Brown I)[1], unanimously holding that segregation of white and black children in state public schools, solely on the basis of race and pursuant to statutes permitting or requiring such segregation, denied to black children the equal protection of the law as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.[2]

Four separate cases from the states of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia and Delaware were consolidated for argument in Brown I. In each of the four cases, the plaintiffs (black children) sought the aid of the federal courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a non-segregated basis. In each case except Delaware, a District Court had refused their requests on the basis of the previously used "separate but equal" doctrine. On direct appeal to the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Warren, speaking for a unanimous court, interpreted the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment as flatly prohibiting state-imposed segregation of the races in public schools: "We conclude that in the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal".

In holding that the equal protection clause prohibited state-imposed segregation of the races in public schools, the Supreme Court took judicial notice of the fact that separation of black children, solely because of their race, "generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

Having decided that the states must provide educational opportunities to all on equal terms, the Supreme Court then faced the immense problem of implementing its decision. On May 31, 1955, the implementation decision was handed down, (again by a unanimous court) in Brown II.[3]

Sensing the enormous impact of their decision in Brown I, the Supreme Court Justices proceeded to return the combined cases of Brown I to the Federal District Courts, where the cases had originated, to take steps consistent with its opinion in Brown I and the following noteworthy guides:

[1] 347 U.S. 483 (1954). [2] "No state shall ... deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." U.S. Const., 14th Amend.

[3] 349 U.S. 294 (1955).

1. Local school authorities have the primary responsibility for implementation.

2. The function of the federal court is to decide whether a local school board's response constitutes good faith implementation.
3. The District Court is to be guided by equitable principles "characterized by practical flexibility" in shaping remedies, with the pointed reminder that the principle of equal educational opportunity espoused in Brown I is not to yield simply because of disagreement with that principle.
4. Although the District Court should take into account the practical problems of implementation, the local school authorities must make a "prompt and reasonable start" and thereafter the court should insure that desegregation proceeds "with all deliberate speed" .

There was an intense immediate reaction to Brown I among white Southerners and America's black population, but the rest of the nation looked on from the sidelines, more concerned about the aftermath of the Korean War, the Army-McCarthy hearings and the defeat of the French in Indo-China. Segregationistic organizations flourished, such as Ku Klux Klan, and White Citizens' Council mushroomed. In the White House, President Eisenhower refused to make any public comment on the Supreme Court decision and was rumored to be personally opposed to school integration.

With the growth of overt white resistance, black attitudes changed from passivity to organization to activism. The refusal of Mrs. Rosa Parks to take the accustomed seat in the back of the bus one December afternoon in 1955 culminated in an estimated 95% of blacks in Montgomery, Alabama boycotting buses under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. A black sit-in movement began in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1960 when four black freshmen at a state Negro college requested and were refused service at a dime store lunch counter.

The most important early decision after Brown II occurred in one of the original five school segregation cases remanded to the Federal District Court for implementation. That case was Briggs vs. Elliott [4]. There a Federal District Court in South Carolina very narrowly interpreted the Brown II decision:

> "What it (the Supreme Court) has decided, and all that it has decided, is that a state may not deny to any person on account of race the right to attend any school that it maintains ... nothing in the Constitution or in the decision of the Supreme Court takes away from the people freedom to choose the schools they attend. The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It merely forbids discrimination."

The Briggs case was a major stumbling block to the development of desegregation law after Brown II until it was finally repudiated in 1966 in light of the subsequent evolution of desegregation implementation.

Two important events of this period firmed up determination of the Federal Courts: the attempt by Governor Faubus of Arkansas in 1957 to block the desegregation of Central High School in Little Rock; and the entrance of James Meredith into the University of Mississippi in 1962.

[4] 132 F. Supp 776 (S.C. 1955).

The history of the Little Rock crisis is chronicled in the Supreme Court's opinion in Cooper vs. Aaron[5]. Federal troops and federalized National Guardsmen were assigned to Central High School for the entire school year to protect eight black students from "repeated incidents of ... violence". The Supreme Court Justices cut short their summer recess to hear the case. In perhaps the only opinion to be signed personally by all nine members, the Court unequivocally announced to the nation that opposition to the Brown mandate, however intense or violent, would not be allowed to stay implementation of the constitutional rights of black children to equal educational opportunities.

The efforts of the United States Court of Appeals to enforce the enrollment of James Meredith at the University of Mississippi jolted that court from its traditional appellate role and ultimately required the use of federal troops to put down the most serious federal-state confrontation since the Civil War.

The events taking place in 1963 provide the setting for the second period of public school integration. This was the foremost year of the civil rights movement. Across the South, black and white citizens organized, marched, sang and sat-in. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee initiated its first direct action voter registration drive in Selma, Alabama. President Kennedy sent a Voting Rights Act to Congress; Congress did not respond. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference organized demonstrations in Birmingham. President Kennedy sponsored new civil rights legislation desegregating public accommodations and setting stringent standards of non-discrimination in federally financed or assisted programs. Again, Congress did not respond. Governor George Wallace stood in the school house door to block the enrollment of Vivian Malone to the University of Alabama. He closed the Tuskegee High School to prevent public school integration. Four little girls were killed in the bombing of a Birmingham church, and two blacks were shot in the violent aftermath. Medgar Evers was assassinated in his home in Jackson, Mississippi. Race rioting began in Cambridge, Maryland and Danville, Virginia. The Department of Justice reported that during the ten week period after the Birmingham demonstration in 1963, over one hundred eight-six cities in the South underwent seven hundred fifty-eight demonstrations resulting in almost five thousand arrests.

The United States Supreme Court had not been very helpful up to this point. Other than urging its Federal Courts in the South to move more rapidly, the Supreme Court did not attempt to give advice on the mechanics of the desegregation process.

Faced with the prospect of having to decide each case on its individual facts, the Court of Appeals in the South began to develop uniform enforcement standards. In 1964, four major cases involving Birmingham and Mobile, Alabama, and Savannah, Brunswick, and Albany, Georgia, ordered previously approved grade-year plan rapidly stepped up. Desegregation was started in the first and second grades, and also in the twelfth, in order that no student would graduate without a desegregated education.

In addition to speeding up the grade-year plans, the Court of Appeals moved away from transfer plans which had required black students to brave a complex procedural morass to initiate their own transfers to white schools. Pupil assignment plans were replaced by freedom-of-choice plans, thereby theoretically allowing every pupil to attend a school based solely on personal choice and the physical capacity of the school.

[5] 358 U.S. 1 (1958)

In addition to approving freedom-of-choice plans in the period between 1964 and 1966, the 5th Circuit also began to require contemporaneous abolition of dual attendance areas - separate school attendance zones for black and white children to which they were initially assigned. The general impatience of the Court of Appeals is summarized by Judge Bell's terse statement that "The rule has become : the later the start, the shorter the time allowed for transition."[6]

The searching of the Federal Courts for uniform standards that could be utilized in all school cases culminated in four major Southern cases decided between 1965 and 1967; Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District (Singleton I and Singleton II[7]) and United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education (Jefferson I and Jefferson II[8]). Those cases mark the most important change in interpretation of the equal protection clause as applied to public education since Brown v. Board of Education. Those decisions not only bring state policy into line with national policy, but they also create new policy by reinterpreting settled school desegregation law.

In the search for uniform standards which would remove the Court of Appeals from day to day supervision of District Court decrees, the Court of Appeals began to consider the "guidelines" established by the HEW Office of Education under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The "guidelines" included minimum standards for use in determining whether a local school board's desegregation plan would qualify that local school board for federal financial assistance.

The court in Singleton I began with the following explicit warning: "The time has come for foot-dragging public school boards to move with celerity toward desegregation...." The court then ordered the local board in Singleton I to "be guided"in the preparation of details of its plan by the new HEW guidelines. Seven months after Singleton I , Singleton II was announced. In that case, the judge at last held that the state of Mississippi could not bar the right of any black child to transfer to a white school.

In Jefferson I, the court consolidated seven cases from Alabama and Louisiana where not one of the school districts involved had made a start toward desegregation until 1965, eleven years after Brown. In the Jefferson I opinion, it was found that "the only school desegregation plan that meets constitutional standards is one that works ... The courts acting alone have failed." The concluding paragraph of the opinion predicted brighter days for black students throughout the South:

> "Now after twelve years of snail's paced progress toward school desegregation, courts are entering a new era. The question to be resolved in each case is: how far have formerly de jure segregated schools progressed in performing their affirmative constitutional duty to furnish equal educational opportunity to all public school children? The clock has ticked its last tick for tokenism and delay in the name of 'deliberate speed'."

Among other things, the Jefferson I opinion upheld the HEW guidelines' use of percentages as legitimate goals by which the efficiency of desegregation plans could be evaluated. It also discussed at length serious shortcomings present in most freedom-of-choice plans and then proceeded to detail the elements to make a free-choice plan work. The discussion focussed on such items as speed of desegregation, mandatory annual free choice, notice, transfers, services, facilities, activities, programs, school equalization, scheduled compliance reports, and desegregation of faculty and staff.

[6]Lockett v. Board of Education, 342 F2d 225 (1965). [7]348 F2d 729 (1965), 355 F2d 855 (1966). [8]372 F2d 836 (1966), 380 F2d 385 (1967).

The Jefferson II opinion went even further than Jefferson I in that not only were the currently issued HEW guidelines mandated for the South but District Courts were told to give "great weight" to future guidelines, "when such guidelines are applicable to this circuit and are within lawful limits".

In 1968 the Supreme Court, through its decision in Green v. County School Board[9], initiated a major new emphasis on immediate integration and marked the end of freedom-of-choice plans as a judicially sanctioned method of desegregation.

The Green case involved a small rural county in eastern Virginia with little residential segregation and a student population divided almost equally between blacks and whites. There were only two schools in the entire system: the school on the east side of the county for whites and the school on the west side for blacks. There were no attendance zones. White students were bused to the white school; black students were bused to the black school. Since 1965, the system had operated under a court-imposed freedom-of-choice plan, but under that plan no white students had ever chosen to attend the black school and only 15% of the county's black pupils had enrolled in the formerly all-white school. A unanimous Supreme Court found that "the pattern of separate 'white' and 'Negro' schools in the new Kent County school system established under compulsion of state laws is precisely the pattern of segregation to which Brown I and Brown II were particularly addressed, and which Brown I declared unconstitutionally denied Negro school children equal protection of the law". Brown had charged school authorities with "the affirmative duty to take whatever steps might be necessary to convert to a unitary system in which racial discrimination would be eliminated root and branch."

The standard, therefore, was effectiveness. Applying the standard to the facts of the case, the court held "'Freedom-of-choice' is not a sacred talisman; it is only a means to a constitutionally required end - the abolition of the system of segregation and its effects. If the means prove effective, it is acceptable, but if it fails to undo segregation, other means must be used to achieve this end." Thus where, as in New Kent County, a freedom-of-choice plan offered no reasonable hope of achieving a unitary system, it was not acceptable.

Scrutiny of Green indicates that the freedom-of-choice plan there was held ineffective essentially because it produced integration of only 15% of the black students into the all-white school. After Green, therefore, federal courts focussed their attention on the percentage of race mixing achieved. That statistic became the prime indicator of whether a desegregation plan promised"realistically to work now".

A new wave of cases testing the viability of the freedom-of-choice plan followed the Green decision. Between December 2, 1969, and September 24, 1970, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeal handed down 109 opinion orders involving 89 separate school districts. This frantic pace of school integration cases continued until the Supreme Court took Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenbur Board of Education[10] on for decision in June, 1970.

Chief Justice Berger examined the facts of the Swann dispute: the school system, 43rd largest in the nation, included the city of Charlotte, North Carolina and all of surrounding Mecklenburg County, an area of 550 square miles. The 107 schools served 84,000 pupils, 71% of whom were white and 20% black. Two-thirds of those black students attended just 21 schools which were either totally or more than 99% black (as of June, 1969).

[9] 391 U.S. 430 (1968). [10] 399 U.S. 926 (1970).

After reviewing the facts, Justice Berger stated that federal courts were to act only after school boards had defaulted, and when forced to intervene, the courts were to be guided by equitable principles. "The objective today remains to eliminate from the public schools all vestiges of state-imposed segregation."

The court then proceeded to define "with more particularity" the elements of an acceptable school desegregation plan. School authorities were only required to eliminate existing invidious racial distinctions. In addition to student assignment plans, existing policy and practices with regard to faculty, staff, transportation, extra-curricular activities and facilities were important indicia of a segregated system. School authorities had an immediate duty to eliminate invidious racial distinctions in all of those areas. The court only briefly discussed the desegregation of transportation, staff and activities; implementation of a desegregation plan in those areas was ostensibly simple.

The Supreme Court then broached the central issue: the problem of student assignment. It held that racial balancing was not required by the Constitution:

> "If we were to read the holding of the District Court to require... any particular degree of racial balance or mixing, that approach would be disapproved and we would be obliged to reverse. The constitutional command to desegregate schools does not mean that every school in every community must always reflect the racial composition of the school system as a whole."

However, the Court qualified that holding by stating that "the very limited use made of mathematical ratios was within the equitable remedial discretion of the District Court." The Court held that there was a presumption against one race schools, but it refused to hold that the existence of one race schools constituted a per se violation of the Constitution.

The Supreme Court then authorized as a valid remedy the altering of attendance zones. The lower courts were authorized to gerrymander school districts and group schools with attendance assignments made deliberately to accomplish the transfer of black students out of formerly segregated black schools and the transfer of white students to formerly all-black schools.

Finally, the Supreme Court faced the busing issue. It approved busing as a remedial tool for desegregation and pointed out that bus transportation had been an "integral part of the public education system for years, and was perhaps the single most important factor in the transition from the one room school house to the consolidated school". The court noted that in Charlotte, where there had been impassioned protest against busing, the school board had bused children for years to maintain a dual system of education. As to busing, the Court did hold, however, "an objection to transportation of students may have validity when time or distance of travel is so great as to either risk the health of the children or significantly impinge on the educational process. District Courts must weigh the soundness of any transportation plan ... It hardly needs stating the limits on time of travel will vary with many factors, but probably with none more than the age of the students."

Swann was to be the last of a long line of unanimous decisions by the Supreme Court in the school integration area. The decision restated much of the development of prior desegregation law, but the pressing issue of whether the Constitution applied in the de facto segregated ghettos of the North and the West was not answered. Precise guidelines on the permissible extent of busing were avoided.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION LAW IN THE NORTH: 1973-1977

Keyes v. School District Number One[1] marked the United States Supreme Court's first consideration of racial imbalance in a school system free from a history of officially mandated racial assignment. It was also the court's first "northern" school desegregation case. As such, it offered an opportunity for the Court to specify the conditions under which racial imbalance results in a constitutional violation.

In Keyes the Court held that a finding of intentional segregation through deliberate segregative acts of pupil assignment to schools in the non-white city area of Denver as well as racial assignment of faculty and staff and the locating of schools with conscious knowledge that they would be segregated raised the presumption that racial imbalance in other geographical areas of the same system was also intentional.

The decision tied the concept of intent to the concept of de jure segregation. In its discussion of de jure segregation, the Court directed that the federal courts in later decisions must follow a 2-step analysis: first, a determination of whether a condition of racial segregation exists; second, a determination of whether that condition results from intentional state activity.

The Court delineated the factors to be considered in making the first determination:

> "What is or is not a segregated school will necessarily depend on the facts of each case. In addition to the racial and ethnic composition of a school's body, other factors, such as the racial and ethnic composition of faculty and staff and the community and administration attitudes toward the school,must be taken into consideration."

Unfortunately, the Supreme Court chose not to expound on the second step of the analysis---the determination of whether the segregation is a result of intentional state action. It provided no definition of intent, nor any guidelines to be considered in later determinations of what constitutes intentional action. The ambiguity has become significant. Because there is no recent history of racial assignment in the north, the battle over the constitutionality of racial imbalance in northern school systems has turned largely on the presence or absence of segregative intent. Different courts have defined segregative intent in radically different ways, yet the Supreme Court has passed up many opportunities to resolve the issue.

Several cases with typical fact situations from various appeal courts illustrate the differing definitions of intentional state activities since the Supreme Court's decision in Keyes.

A desegregation case in Omaha, Nebraska presented the issue whether the undisputed racial segregation existing in the Omaha Public Schools denied black students their equal protection rights under the Fourteenth Amendment. During the 1973-74 school year, 20% of the student population of the Omaha school district was black, yet 50% of the black students attended schools having an 80-100% black enrollment. 73% of the white students attended schools with

1. 413 U.S. 189(1973)

black enrollments of less than 5%. The plaintiffs produced evidence at trial that the school board had foreseeably created and maintained segregation within the school system by its conduct in five areas of decisionmaking: faculty assignment, transfer policy, conversion of feeder schools, selection of new construction sites, and gerrymandering of attendance zones.

The District Court dismissed the Omaha case, ruling that the plaintiffs had failed to carry their burden of producing evidence from which segregated intent could be inferred. On appeal, the Court held in favor of the plaintiffs stating that a presumption of segregative intent arises once a plaintiff establishes that school authorities engaged in acts or omissions which have the natural, probable, and foreseeable consequence of bringing about or maintaining segregation. The burden then shifts to defendants to establish that segregative intent was not among the considerations motivating their action.

The court in Omaha also adopted a view articulated by the 9th Circuit (to which the State of Washington belongs), that the assignment of an overwhelmingly black faculty to black schools---a matter entirely controlled by school authorities and unaffected by extrinsic factors such as residential segregation and transportation problems---is persuasive evidence that racial considerations have influenced school district policies and practices.[1] As faculty assignment is, unlike student assignment, peculiarly within the control of the school board, a trier of fact could infer the existence of a segregative design by school authorities from a substantial disproportion in faculty racial composition.

A similar decision was reached in Hart v. Community School Board of Education.[2] The Hart court acknowledged that the question of definition of intent was not authoritatively settled by the Keyes case, but that the "question is simply by what standard state action is to be judged, whether on the foreseeable consequences of acts or on an indispensable finding that the act or omission was racially motivated."

The Court then reasoned that because the latter standard would be almost impossible to prove, the former is more consistent with the shifting of the burden of proof to the defendant as was done in the Keyes case. Consequently, it held that "A finding of de jure segregation may be based on actions taken, coupled with admissions made, by governmental authorities which have the natural and foreseeable consequences of causing educational segregation."

The 1st Circuit (Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island), while not declaring its standard as explicitly as the 2nd Circuit (New York, Vermont and Connecticut), clearly favors the foreseeable consequences test. In Morgan v Kerrigan,[3] the court was faced with the traditional argument of a school board that it has no duty to take affirmative steps to eliminate de facto segregation in its schools. The court rejected the defendant's argument.

> "Not only is it inconceivable that the repeated rejection of proposals which would promote desegregation could not properly be considered by a court as evidence of an attempt to create or maintain segregation, but there can

1. Kelly v. Guinn, 456 F2d 100 (9th Cir, 1972)
2. 412 F2d 37 (2nd Cir, 1975)
3. 509 F2d 580 (1st Cir, 1974)

be no doubt that defendants' failures to act are probative evidence of intent..."

The Court also noted that "every decision to act for racial balance or to fight it has consequences." It can reasonably be inferred from the Court's language that an awareness of segregative consequences from a failure to act is to be treated as evidence of intentional action in the 1st Circuit.

The approach in the south is now similar to that of the 1st Circuit. The Court of Appeals in the 5th Circuit has admitted that its earlier "cause and effect" standard for finding a dual school system, or de jure segregation, is no longer a proper one after Keyes' requirement of intent. It stated in Morales v. Shannon[1] that the natural and foreseeable consequences of acts that maintained segregated schools are "strong evidence of segregatory intent." The act which was ultimately found to be unconstitutional was the imposition of a neighborhood school assignment system on an area where Mexican-Americans and Anglos had separate residential patterns.

The 6th Circuit's (Michigan, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennesee) definition of intent is perhaps the closest to that of the northeast. In Oliver v. Board of Education[2] the Court stated that

> "A presumption of segregative purpose arises when plaintiffs establish that the natural, probable and foreseeable result of public officials' action or inaction was an increase or perpetuation of school segregation."

The 6th Circuit, however, permits this presumption to be overturned by an affirmative establishment that the defendants' "action or inaction was a consistent and resolute application of racially neutral policies." In other words, the presumption shifts the burden of proof to the defendant who must then prove that the suspect decision making process has been racially non-discriminatory.

In Brinkman v. Gilligan[3] a Dayton, Ohio desegregation case, the Court was faced with a factual situation very much like that in Keyes. In Dayton, as in Denver, there were racially imbalanced schools, optional attendance zones, and the over ruling by the Dayton School Board of the three desegregation resolutions passed by earlier boards. The appellate court stated simply:

> "Although the phrase 'de jure' does not appear in our former opinion, the meaning of that decision is that the Dayton school system has been and is guilty of de jure segregation practices."

A footnote to the Dayton case occurred as recently as July, 1977, when the Supreme Court rejected the bussing plan ordered by the Appellate Court and held that before any city wide desegregation remedy can be ordered, the trial court must first determine that local authorities engaged in illegal segregation practices having a city-wide impact.

The United States District Court in Pennsylvania has rejected the "natural and foreseeable consequences" test, holding that subjective purpose to discriminate is the standard of intent to be used

1. 516 F2d 411 (5th Cir, 1975)
2. 508 F2d 178 (6th Cir, 1974)
3. 503 F2d 684 (6th Cir, 1974)

in desegregation cases. In Husbands v. Pennsylvania[1] the court reasoned that intent meant subjective purpose or motive; that the plaintiffs had submitted no "direct evidence of segregative intent, and only circumstantial evidence of a limited extent"; and that, therefore, the plaintiff's evidence did not constitute a basic case of intent to segregate the black students of the city.

The factual pattern of Husbands is a typical one. Delaware County, Pennsylvania, had a non-white population of about 7%. However, two of the county's 15 school districts had 67.9% and 62.1% black student bodies. The county school district's 1968 reorganization plan merged the two predominately black school districts. The result was a single unit with a black population that had increased by 1970 to 71% of the total number of pupils. Four other units with black populations ranging from 0 - 8% abutted that unit.

The 9th Circuit which encompasses the State of Washington also has generally adopted a subjective test for intent, requiring evidence that "school authorities had intentionally discriminated against minority students by practicing a deliberate policy of racial segregation."[2]

The subjective test for segregative intent used in the 9th Circuit is beset by significant difficulties. Courts generally have held that segregative intent need not be the "dominate motive" behind the school authorities' decisions in order to invalidate them. Instead, segregative intent need only be among the factors that motivated school board actions. The elicit motivations of an individual official therefore might invalidate a governmental decision that could be justified on non-racial grounds. Even if the gap between individuals and institutions could be bridged, it would remain unclear whose subjective intentions are relevant. Cases have turned on the discriminatory purposes of school board members, superintendants, assistant superintendants, voters, and parents. Moreover, there is no indication whether one decision maker, a plurality, or a majority must harbor segregative intent.

Finally, the subjective test poses some evidence problem. A finding of subjective intent generally must be inferred from circumstantial evidence. In evaluating such evidence no set of facts compells a finding of elicit motivation; behind any facts may lie a number of subjective motivations. Thus, judges must rely on their knowledge of human nature in deciding whether particular facts are indicative of segregative intent.

The subjective intent test has been adopted in another case originating in California.[3] The San Jose Board of Education adhered to a "neighborhood school policy" that assigned students to schools in the immediate vicinity of their homes. Even though the district had grown, the Board had attempted to keep boundries of attendance zones constant, except where new schools were established to relieve over crowding.

At the time of the suit, most of the schools in the system were either disproportionately Anglo or disproportionately Mexican-American. In 1971 Washington Elementary School was damaged by an earthquake and pursuant to state law the Board razed the building. Before

1. 395 FSupp 1107 (E.D.Pa, 1975)
2. Soria V. Oxnard School Dist. Board of Trustees, 488 F2d 579 (9th Cir, 1973)
3. Diaz v. San Jose Unified School District, 412 FSupp 310 (N.D. Cal., 1976)

The basis of the judge's decision in the C.A.M.B. case was that the School Board "made a mistake" or an unwise policy decision in deciding to put the plan into operation in the fall of 1971. This delay would have allowed the plaintiffs to invoke the referendum process.

The Supreme Court decision holds that the invoking of such a procedure would frustrate the State Constitution, Art. 9, Sec. 1, which provides that the state shall make ample provision for the education of all children. Referendum procedures can be invoked at the local level only if their exercise is not in conflict with state law. "Clearly they cannot be used to interfere in the management of the state's school system."

Another thought which the trial court apparently had in mind was that the plaintiffs should have been given sufficient notice of the plans to enable them to prepare alternatives of their own. The Supreme Court held that the evidence showed that the Board studied many plans and considered many opinions before reaching its decision. A system of voluntary transfers of students had been tried but the objective was not accomplished. Thus the procedure of the Board was held to be reasonable; the trial court had substituted its discretion for that of the Board.

Plaintiffs placed reliance on the theory that they had the right to send their children to neighborhood schools. The appellate court found that the existence of such a right was inconsistent with the U.S. Supreme Court holding in Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Bd. of Educ. "It is fundamental that no one can have a vested right in any general rule of law or policy of legislation which entitles him to insist that it remain unchanged for his benefit." No legal authority was found in law for the proposition that parents have a vested right to send their children to any particular public school.

The Supreme Court found that at least 39% of America's school children are bussed to school. It suggested that the plaintiffs feared a hostile environment in the new school, not remoteness. "This problem of hostilities based upon mutual lack of knowledge and understanding is one of those which the school board seeks to alleviate. Under the plan adopted, there would be no school with a majority of black students."

The Court held it was the duty of the School Board to act in the best interests of the majority of students, and that some might suffer adverse effects. "If a parent elects to send his child to public school, he must abide by the reasonable rules and regulations of public school authorities."

The position of the Supreme Court is clear. Unless the action of the School Board is found to be arbitrary or capricious, it will be upheld. The facts of the present case and the allegations of the plaintiffs may question the procedure used by the Board in arriving at a decision, but they do not raise fundamental issues which would likely convince a court to overrule the new Seattle Bussing Plan.

Teachers' Manual

CURRICULUM GUIDE FOR

Class Session on

SEGREGATION REMEDIES

SESSION THREE

GOALS: To acquaint class members with desegregation methods which have been used throughout the United States, to present various strategies of student movement which were considered for Seattle, and to discuss the subject of "busing".

RESOURCE MATERIAL: in the book (the following goldenrod colored section) includes a section on court-approved segregation remedies (or desegregation plans) by Phillip Mortenson, and sections on student movement strategies and "busing" by Nancy Carlin. Both Mr. Mortenson and Ms. Carlin are available to lead class discussions (see the list of Resource People in the back of the book). Additional resource material on this subject is available by calling Nancy Carlin at the Church Council, 525-1213.

FORMAT: (if a resource person does not speak). Divide the resource material into sections and give each section to a small group in the class to read and discuss. Have a spokesperson from each small group report to the larger class.

Allow the last half of the class period for a discussion of the following questions:

1. Is it necessary to "bus" children to desegregate Seattle's schools?

2. What other desegregation techniques could be used in Seattle? List these on the chalk board.

3. How are Seattle's problems of school segregation different from other cities discussed here?

4. How do class members feel about "fixed assignment" methods in comparison to "voluntary with mandatory backup" methods?

SEGREGATION REMEDIES

Prepared by Phil Mortenson

A. BACKGROUND

Except in the case of "pure" de facto segregation, that is segregation in which there was neither a history of statutorily imposed segregation nor intentional segregative acts on the part of school officials, the rules for establishing constitutional violation are relatively clear and non-controversial. The real concern today is not whether the constitutional rights of black children are being violated; but, rather, is over remedies. The major issues are, to what extent desegregation will be required and by which means such desegregation is to be achieved.

Local school authorities have the primary responsibility for insuring desegregation. In judging whether local authorities have met that responsibility, and in fashioning remedial decrees where they have not, the federal courts are to be guided by traditional principles of fairness. The objective to be achieved is "the elimination of...deliberately maintained dual school systems with certain schools for Negro pupils and others for white pupils."[1] The local school authorities and the courts must strive to "eliminate...all vestiges of state-imposed segregation," and "achieve the greatest possible degree of actual desegregation, taking into account the practicality of the situation."[2] Finally, "the remedy...may be administratively awkward, inconvenient, and even bizarre in some situations, and may impose burdens on some..."[3]

The most detailed discussion of the various remedies available to a federal district court is found in Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Board of Education. There the court endorsed a range of possible steps that a lower court could require a school district to take once an equal protection violation had been established; the court also clearly indicated that the use of these remedial steps is limited, depending upon the circumstances.

The major permissible remedies discussed in Swann can be clustered around four somewhat overlapping subject areas:
(1) Racial balance; (2) one race schools; (3) altering of attendance zones and pairing, clustering, or grouping of schools; and (4) transportation of students from one part of the district to schools in another part---i.e. bussing.

This is my first time on the bus. How do you like it?
ROBERT WESTPHAL
Oh, it does have its ups and downs.
AT the back of the bus.
BUMP!

[1] Brown v. Board of Education, 349 U.S. 294 (1955). [2] Davis v. Board of School Commissioners, 402 U.S. 33 (1971). [3] Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Board of Education, 402 U.S. 28.

B. RACIAL BALANCE

Swann raised the question of the degree to which racial balance can be required in formulating a remedy; that is, to what extent must the proportions of each race in a school correspond to the proportions of each race in the system as a whole? The court held that the use of mathematical ratios as part of a plan to facilitate the disestablishment of a dual school system is permissible, but in and of itself, racial balance is not required by the constitution:

> "The constitutional command to desegregate schools that every school in every community must always reflect the racial composition of the school system as a whole...(although) the use... of mathematical ratios (and)... awareness of the racial composition of the whole school system is likely to be a useful starting point in shaping a remedy..."

C. ONE RACE SCHOOLS

In placing limitations on the use of ratios to achieve racial balance, the court also indicated that the existence of one race schools is not constitutionally invalid per se. However, the burden in a previously de jure segregated school system is on the school officials to justify that assignments to these schools are non-discriminatory.

Thus if t[illegible]one race school is a holdover from a previous policy of racial assignmen[illegible]d the school board has subsequently adopted a neighborhood schools policy, presumably the court would find assignment to that school discriminatory.

D. ALTERING ATTENDANCE ZONES

With regard to the pairing of schools and altering of attendance zones, Swann indicated that a racially neutral student assignment plan--such as a neighborhood school plan or a freedom-of-choice plan--is not acceptable if it is ineffective in reducing racial imbalance in a previously de jure segregated school system.

Some members of the Supreme Court seem to place a high priority on neighborhood schools. Chief Justice Berger indicated in Swann that such a policy might be preferable, under certain circumstances, to any other policy of assignment:

> "All things being equal, with no history of discrimination, it might well be desirable to assign pupils to schools nearest their homes. But all things are not equal in a system that has been deliberately constructed and maintained to enforce racial segregation."

Justice Powell strongly advocated neighborhood schools and sought to curb the use of bussing solely for purposes of maximizing racial balance if it would impact too heavily on neighborhood schooling.

In Ellis v. Board of Public Instruction,[4] the Circuit Court of Appeals delineated the elements of a legal neighborhood school plan: each student must be assigned to attend the school nearest his or her home, limited only by the capacity of the school, and then to the next nearest school, without variance or exception and without regard to whether the school was formerly black or white. The plan, however, must result in desegregation as measured by the six indicia first outlined in Green v. County School Board: desegregation of student bodies, faculty, staff, transportation, extra-curricular activities, and facilities.

[4] 423F2d 203 (5th Cir 1970).

On the basis of the above holding, Judge Johnson in 1974 approved the Montgomery School Board proposal for a neighborhood elementary school plan which left one-third of the 33 elementary schools with over 80% black enrollment--meaning that 55% of black elementary school students were still enrolled in predominately black schools. Judge Johnson based his decision on three grounds: (1) every black student at some point in his school career will be exposed to complete desegregation since in grades 7 through 12 the system would be completely desegregated; (2) the system as a whole will be desegregated; and (3) there is educational value in having elementary children attend schools near their homes, although he cited no empirical or other evidence to support this statement. He concluded that "if a neighborhood elementary school system can be effected without a sacrifice of constitutional standards, then such a plan should be adopted."[5]

E. BUSSING

The most controversial aspect of school desegregation is bussing, or the transportation of students from one part of the district to a school in another part of the district to achieve desegregation. The Supreme Court in Swann approved bussing as a tool to be used in disestablishing a dual school system, although it indicated there are limits to provide any specific guidelines for limits, however, the court declined to provide any specific guidelines for future cases, saying only that bussing could be used where "feasible," but its use was to be limited by considerations of time and distances which would "either risk the health of the children or significantly impinge on the educational process."

Without explicit guidance from the Supreme Court, lower courts have taken different approaches with regard to the extent of bussing that will be permitted. A federal district court in Memphis--where total desegregation could have been accomplished by a plan involving bus rides of up to 60 minutes -- accepted a Plan which left some 25,000 black students in 25 all black schools, but which reduced the average bus ride to 38 minutes with no ride no more than 45 minutes. [6] All of this was done without much apparent help from the social or medical sciences in determining whether 60 minutes risks children's health or significantly impinges on the educational process.

In Thompson v. School Board,[7] the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld an order by the District Court that a desegregation plan which would have involved bus rides of up to 2 and ½ hours of travel time a day for first and second graders was not "feasible." The defense introduced the expert testimony of a pediatrician concerning the possible harmful affects of bussing on young children which the plaintiffs left uncontroverted.

The use of bussing has also been limited by Congress under the 1974 Education Amendment.[8] This education package prohibits a federal court from ordering bussing to remedy de jure segregation unless the court first makes a finding that all alternative remedies are inadequate. And when bussing is used, the Amendments provide that no student should be bussed beyond the school next closest to his home, unless the courts determine that more extensive bussing is necessary to insure the protection of constitutionally guaranteed civil rights. This important proviso seems to leave intact the remedial powers of the federal courts already judicially defined in cases such as Green and Swann.

[5] [6] Carr v. Montgomery County Board of Education, 377 F. Supp 1123 (1974). Northcross v. Board of Education, 489 F2d 15 (1973). [7] 498 F2d 195 (4th Cir 1974). [8] 20 U.S.C.A. SS1701-58 (1975).

F. BLACK BACKLASH AND WHITE FLIGHT

Another important issue in the remedial area is what recourse is there when a specific remedy disproportionately burdens minorities? This issue has arisen in two overlapping contexts: where there is one-way bussing (only minority students are bused out of their neighborhood to attend schools in white neighborhoods); and where a formerly all-black school is closed but white schools are not. The first issue was raised in Norwalk CORE v. Norwalk Board of Education, which held that one-way bussing was within the discretion of the school board absent a finding of either de jure segregation or a lack of good faith on the part of the board.[9]

In Hart v. Community School Board[10] the district judge's amended order called for the school in question to be turned into a magnet school in order to attract more whites. The plaintiffs objected, in part because substantially more minority students (1050) than white students (650) were to be bussed. The Second Circuit held, however, that

> "The 'burden' of bussing cast upon minority students is only a 'somewhat heavier burden'....a 'somewhat heavier burden' has to fall somewhere, either on white or minority students as a class."

In Higgins v. Board of Education[11], the plaintiffs alleged that the Grand Rapids School Board's affirmative desegregation plan was illegal in providing for "one-way" bussing from the central city (where blacks were concentrated) to the peripheral areas--because the school boards thought that any other plan would result in white flight to the suburbs. The Court of Appeals, while recognizing that the "burden and inconveniences of integration should not be placed indiscriminatorily" stated that

> "The authority of schools' officials to formulate plans for achieving an improved racial balance should not be as restrictive in the case of a school system which has not been found to have engaged in purposeful segregation as for a system which has practiced de jure segregation.

With regard to the "white flight" justification of the school board, the Circuit Court emphasized that there was a valid distinction between using the defense of white flight as a smoke screen to avoid integration and realistically considering and dealing with the practical problem of making voluntary efforts to achieve integration.

In Nashville, the school board devised a plan which called for bussing black students in grades 1 to 4 to outlying schools while white students were not bussed unless they were in grades 5 and 6.[12] The Circuit Court approved this plan stating that "we do not believe...that we can appropriately hold the District Judge abused his discretion..." Similarly, the Court of Appeals considered acceptable a plan whereby black students in grades three through five were to be bussed out of their neighborhoods to attend schools in white neighborhoods, while white students in grades six and seven were bussed to formerly black schools.

The courts have also held that it is permissible to close formerly all black schools if the closing is not based on "racial consideration."[13] For example, the closing of five formerly black schools in Jacksonville, Florida, was approved on the grounds that all were deteriorated, one was surrounded by a

[9]298F. Supp. 213 (D. Conn. 1969). [10]512F2d 37 (2nd Cir. 1975). [11]508 F2d 779 (6th Cir. 1974). [12]Kelley v. Metropolitan County Board of Education, 463 F2d 732 (6th Cir. 1972). [13]Ellis v. Board of Public Instruction, 465 F2d 878 (5th Cir. 1972).

slaughter house, a polluted creek, and a city incinerator; and in three other schools vandalism and intrusion were so frequent and serious that teachers and children were locked in their rooms for safety.

It is clear, however, that there is a heavy burden on the school board to show that the closing of formerly black schools is not for racial reasons. With regard to the desegregation of Austin schools, the Court of Appeals reversed a District Court order that two all black schools be closed where there was no showing that the schools were closed for non-racial reasons and where similarly situated white school was not closed. The fact that the possibility of white flight "was the real reason for the closing of the two schools" was not a legitimate justification.[14]

In Arvizu v. Waco Independent School District, the Court of Appeals went even further.[15] The school board had given reasons for the closing of minority schools -- the facilities were outmoded, they operated at under capacity or the capacity was so limited that the costs of operation were prohibitive, and the physical plant was too small. The court held, however, that the board must do more than give facially legitimate justification. It "must adduce evidence sufficient to support" the conclusion that "their actions were not in fact motivated by racial reasons" sufficient to support the conclusion.

One potential limit to consider in shaping a desegregation remedy is the phenomenon of "white flight." Should a desegregation plan take into account the "tipping point" beyond which white flight accelerates precipitously?

In Brunson v. Board of Trustees, 429 Fed 820 (4th Cir. 1970) the Court of Appeals confronted the above issue directly. The court took into consideration studies by Professor Pettigrew regarding the advantages of retaining a white majority in the schools:

> "Negroes in predominately white classrooms score higher on the average, but those Negroes in classrooms with less than one half white do no better than those in all Negro classrooms."

One judge's position was that in view of the serious threat of white flight--and, indeed, substantial white flight had already taken place--"some degree of moderation in selecting a remedy" was needed.

In United States v. Board of School Commissioners, the District Court noted that in Indianapolis, a city where the majority of the black population was already confined to the inner city, "white flight" would become accelerated and irreversible when the percentage of black pupils in a particular school approached forty per cent, thus leaving a nearly all black school system.[16] The lower court cautioned that a school board by implementing a desegregation plan that failed to take this tipping factor into account could become indirectly responsible for pushing the racial balance past the "tipping point", resulting in the rapid desegregation of the school. However, on appeal, the Circuit Court of Appeals responded that "so called 'white flight' is not an acceptable reason for failing to dismantle a dual school system."

The question of whether and when there is a tipping point has been raised most often in connection with racial discrimination in housing. Most of the literature indicates that the tipping point will vary, from as low as 6% to as high as 50%, depending upon many factors, including the intensity of

[14]U.S. v. Texas Education Agency, 467 F2d 848 (5th Cir. 1972). [15]495 F2d 499 (5th Cir. 1974). [16]322F. Supp. 655 (Ind. 1971).

prejudicial feeling in the community, the extent of private housing to which white tenants can escape, and the racial composition of the neighborhood.

In United States v. Scotland Neck City Board of Education, the Supreme Court reiterated its stand that "while (white flight) may be cause for deep concern to the (school boards), it cannot...be accepted as a reason for achieving anything less than complete uprooting of the dual public school system."[17] Although this language has been picked up by some appellate courts as indicating that white flight cannot under any circumstances be a consideration in formulating a remedy, the Supreme Court has not yet addressed itself to this issue in any broad sense.

G. TRACKING, ABILITY, GROUPING, AND USE OF TESTS

A school system may in some respects remain segregated even after a court ordered desegregation plan has been fully implemented. Through various practices such as ability grouping and the selective use of disciplinary measures, minority children may continue to receive different and apparently unequal treatment.

The courts have been fairly consistent in holding that when a formerly dual, segregated school system is in the process of being or has just recently been dismantled, pupil assignment by standardized achievement or I.Q. test scores is prohibited when the attended and actual result is a perpetuation of the dual system.

It has been argued, in behalf of ability grouping, that the teacher can adjust his or her teaching methods and materials and reach most, if not all, of the students in a given classroom. In a heterogeneous classroom on the other hand the teacher would have to aim for the average range of ability, and thus would lose both those students significantly below and those above the average, as the material would either be too difficult or insufficiently challenging.

In addition to improved student achievement, it has been argued that ability grouping promotes self esteem. The child who does not have to compete with children who are significantly brighter or duller than he, can develop a healthy self image as he works with children at his own level.

While there is substantial social science research on the issue, the research is so contradictory that it cannot be said with any sense of conviction whether ability grouping does or does not lead to increased achievement and improved self esteem in children.

In Hobson v. Hansen[18] the court held that the system of tracking which places minority students in lower levels of standard curricula is unconstitutional when it inhibits movement between tracks, thereby rendering the initial assignment to a lower track a permanent assignment. In theory, the track system was established to enable the school system to provide compensatory and remedial education for students in the lowest tracks in order to help those students move into higher tracks. In practice, however, such education was woefully lacking. When coupled with the courts discussion of the serious harm caused by segregation, however it is brought about, these findings suggest that the Hobson Court might have abolished the tracking system even without the showing that the classifying tests were biased.

[17]407 U.S. 484 (1972). [18]269F. Supp. 401 (D.C. 1967).

Assuming, however, that the tests used to identify mentally retarded students are racially neutral, culturally fair, and educationally valid, should the tests or the assignments to special classes on the basis of those tests by open to legal challenge if the result is a disproportionate number of minority children being placed in special classes or schools for the educable mentally retarded? It is at least arguable that once a court has determined the tests being administered are racially neutral and otherwise valid, and that there are procedural and substantive safeguards to circumscribe the classification process to avoid even unintentional misclassification, there is no basis for a court to intervene further. The difficulty courts face here is in developing remedies that will cure the civil rights violation without interfering with legitimate educational judgments about the need to group children by ability.

STUDENT MOVEMENT : A GUIDE TO DESEGREGATION TERMINOLOGY

by Nancy Carlin

There are many different ways to desegregate Seattle Public Schools. A number of student movement strategies were considered in the planning stages. In attempting to explain the vocabulary of desegregation planning, I have made extensive use of the District-Wide Advisory Committee on Desegregation's "An Analysis of the Advantages and Disadvantages of Displacement and Replacement Strategies", submitted to the Desegregation Planning Office on June 6, 1977.

Rather than describe each combination of displacement and replacement, I have defined each strategy separately and presented some of the overall contrasts and "trade-offs" at issue.

DISPLACEMENT STRATEGIES

The following are ways to move students out of a racially imbalanced school.

BOUNDARY REALIGNMENT

The reconstruction of existing attendance boundaries so as to encompass an integrated student population. Contiguous boundary realignment rebuilds attendance zones into continuous, intact geographic areas with integrated student populations. Non-contiguous boundary realignment restructures attendance zones which are not adjacent to each other (this is also called "islanding").

Under contiguous boundary realignment, School A's boundary could be altered to include all or part of neighboring School B's student population. Under non-contiguous boundary realignment, School A's attendance area might include a section of School B's student population from a separate part of the city. Plan II, which underwent community review in the fall of 1977, was a boundary realignment plan.

The advantages of boundary realignment lie in the minimal cost and administration required, the high control of student movement (and transportation), and the maintenance of "neighborhood" identity due to the assignment of students by geographic area. However, boundary realignment is perceived as being arbitrary and impersonal, as involving overly long bus rides (in the case of non-contiguous boundary realignment), and as merely "the movement of bodies" without concern for the quality of education (or "what's at the end of the bus ride").

DUAL ATTENDANCE AREAS

An attendance area has a dual assignment policy where minority students are assigned to one school and majority students to another school. Within part of an attendance area, for example, minority students are assigned to predominantly majority School X while white students are assigned to predominantly minority School B.

Dual attendance areas were introduced into Seattle Public Schools with the 1971 inception of the Middle School Program. This assignment policy exerts substantial control over student movement, and therefore reduces transportation costs. However, it does not encourage the establishment of integrated neighborhoods, because it is based on ethnicity alone.

ENROLLMENT LIDDING

This kind of plan has two objectives: to reduce the populations of minority-imbalanced schools to building capacity (without the use of portable classrooms) and concurrently to

make better use of underutilized space in majority-impacted schools; and further, to limit enrollment by ethnic group. For example, in the current Voluntary Magnet School Program, the following ethnic lids were established: 50% of enrollment was to be Voluntary Racial Transfer (in other words, students from ethnic groups not part of the neighborhood population), 35% was to be "neighborhood" population, and 15% was to be open enrollment. If the 35% neighborhood enrollment was attained, neighborhood students could apply for a program in the 15% category. If Schools A, B and C have predetermined ethnic lids, and the majority ethnic lid is reached at School A, majority students would then only have access to Schools B and C.

Enrollment lidding can be combined with other displacement strategies and when carefully enforced, will stabilize a school's ethnic composition. Although students are assigned by a combination of geographic area and ethnicity, transportation becomes more difficult to control. In addition, the Magnet School experience in Seattle indicates that because 18 out of 27 Magnet Programs were located in minority-imbalanced schools (in order to encourage white movement), more minority students had to mandatorily move out to make room for majority students.

GRADE RECONFIGURATION

The restructuring of grade organizations within a pair or cluster of schools. For example, a large predominantly minority K-6 elementary schools could be triaded with two smaller, predominantly white schools. The minority school could be designated as the K-3 school, while the two white schools could hold grades 4-6, and students from the minority school would be assigned to either of the two predominantly white schools. One example of this is the Wedgwood-Decatur-Leschi triad found in the Seattle Plan.

Grade reconfiguration can create a "neighborhood" population which will identify the feeder pattern (ie. school assignments for a student's twelve years of elementary and secondary education) for every student upon enrollment, and also maintain racial balance within grade levels (this is accomplished in the original selection of pairs, triads or clusters). Because students move with their neighborhood peers, the relative costs of transportation are diminished (through centralized pick-up points). Grade reconfiguration is not a new idea for Seattle; at present, many different configurations exist in our public schools (K-2, K-4, K-5, K-6, middle schools, junior high schools, 9-12, 10-12). Grade reconfiguration does mean more student movement, with all students spending part of their school years "out of the neighborhood". In addition, the conversion of facilities to accommodate only two or three grades (on a larger scale) would be necessary, and the separation by age reduces opportunities for cross-age contact and tutoring.

REPLACEMENT STRATEGIES

Replacement strategies concern the way in which students are moved from one school into another. They represent the particular method by which displacement is applied. For example, the Seattle Plan is a fixed assignment (replacement) grade reconfiguration (displacement) with options in zones. Listed below are several of the replacement strategies considered in Seattle.

FIXED ASSIGNMENT

The assignment of students to a specific school. When used for desegregation purposes, the specific school is one in which the student's presence will contribute to a racially balanced student body.

LIMITED CHOICE

Students are presented with a number of specific choices for assignment other than the home school. These choices may be within a particular geographic area (for example, in Plan IV, limited choice was combined with the concept of zoning) , but are all schools in which the student's presence will contribute to racial balance.

VOLUNTARY WITH MANDATORY BACK-UP

A broad description of the way in which displacement strategies can be applied. Students are recruited for and allowed to apply to a variety of schools in which their presence will contribute to racial balance. After a defined time period, if students do not volunteer to move in numbers sufficient to desegregate the District, they are reassigned to specific schools as necessary (as in the current Middle School Mandatory Transfer Program).

OPEN ENROLLMENT AND VOLUNTARY PROGRAMS

Under open enrollment, all students in the District have access to any school they wish to attend, regardless of geographical location, on a first-come, first-served basis, subject only to enrollment capacity. Examples of voluntary programs in Seattle are the Voluntary Racial Transfer Program and the Magnet Schools. Students are encouraged to apply to these programs, and their enrollment is regulated for desegregation by ethnic lidding.

RANDOM REASSIGNMENT

The assignment of students in the District to schools, without prior designation. In Seattle, random reassignment has been employed as part of a mandatory back-up strategy. In the Middle School Program, students are reassigned by computer selection of a point within an attendance area. A circle is drawn from that point, and enlarged until the required number of students is obtained. Students within that circle are then reassigned. Random reassignment can also by administered by lottery.

STUDENT MOVEMENT "TRADEOFFS" FOR SEATTLE

Some controversy over school desegregation in Seattle has centered around questions of approach. The two major strategies which emerged from the 5 alternatives under consideration during the fall of 1977 were "voluntary-with-mandatory-back-up" as opposed to "fixed-assignment-with-options". Proponents of the voluntary-first approach feel that program diversity, the development of educational options (such as the current Magnet School Program), and increased parent and student involvement in placement decisions result from and are advantages of this approach. Opponents of voluntary-first cite unequal availability of educational opportunities (ie because conceivably not every student can exercise his/her first choice and still enhance desegregation), low degree of control over student movement (and proportionately higher transportation costs), and the necessity for an annual public relations and recruitment effort which would be massive and costly.

In contrast, fixed-assignment-first is less expensive, easier to administer, can encourage program diversity within the building as well as educational options throughout the District. However, opponents of fixed-assignment-first cite the elimination of the traditional "neighborhood school", the lack of primary parent and student involvement in school attendance, and the lack of primary attention to issues of quality education as disadvantages.

Of the five alternatives presented to the School Board and the community this fall, Plans I, III and IV relied on the maintenance and expansion of the current Voluntary Magnet Programs and of the Voluntary Racial Transfer Program, while Plans II and V relied on boundary realignment and grade reconfiguration strategies respectively (ie fixed-assignment).

The Seattle Plan for Desegregation contains elements of each of the five alternatives. It is basically grade reconfiguration (Plan V) in zones (Plan IV), maintaining a number of Magnet options and the Voluntary Racial Transfer Program (Plans I and III), and a few boundary alterations (Plan II).

Prepared by Nancy Carlin
Sources available

WHAT DOES BUSING MEAN ?

The procedure of pupil transportation known as "busing" is probably the most volatile issue in any discussion of school desegregation. Busing has become a national symbol of the helplessness, frustration and rage of parents whose children have been torn from their "neighborhood school" and sent farther away to school to attend with (often for the first time) children of other races and ethnic backgrounds. Busing has been the subject of major court battles, a proposed Constitutional amendment, and an apparent invitation to violence in several urban school districts throughout the country.

The school bus itself is a venerable American institution. Over a hundred years ago, under the first Pupil Transportation Act, American school children boarded their first bus. In fact, busing made possible the transition from the "one room schoolhouse" to the larger consolidated school. Today, forty-eight states provide transportation, and fifteen states extend it to private schools at public expense. Nationwide, more than 50% of all school children ride buses to and from school, and over 43% of those children do so for reasons other than desegregation. Students in the Seattle Public School District have ridden buses since 1970. This year over 20% of all public school students in Seattle are bussed. Out of these 11,000 children, the School District will provide transportation for over 68% for reasons other than desegregation.

Until recent years, busing has been systematically invoked as a tool of segregation. Initially, black children watched as white children rode school buses to more modern, well-equipped schools. When bus service finally arrived for black children, it was segregated in the same manner as the schools. During the 1950's, the State of North Carolina, like many others, transported black children out of their neighborhood, away from white schools, to receive distant segregated education. This practice aided North Carolina in referring to itself as "the school busing-est State in the Union". Twenty years later, in 1971, the United States Supreme Court held in the Swann case that under certain circumstances, a policy of involuntary transportation was indeed valid; as part of a plan to desegregate the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School Districts.

Thus, the history of pupil transportation in the United States can be summed up in the following manner:

> Ever since there have been buses, white parents have been busing their children to where the best education was - as black children were bused only to inferior schools, away from white. It was when it looked as if the process might be reversed that the furor began.

Parents are naturally concerned about their childrens' safety. Opponents of busing have made safety a particular point of contention, citing the possible accidents, incidents and mishaps which could beset a bus ride. However, a national survey quoted by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1976 indicates that "students walking to school are three times more likely to be involved in an accident than those going to school by bus". The National Safety Council calls school busing "the safest transportation in the United States". Contrary to the belief that young children are severely affected by busing, the 1976 survey showed that busing was easiest to administer, safest and most successful for children in the primary grades. Many of the injuries that have been suffered by children in the process of busing for desegregation have been inflicted by jeering taunting mobs of angry white adults, who in both Northern and Southern cities, have indulged in insults and epithets, chained themselves to the buses, blocked the path of traffic, and fire-bombed buses in the depot.

IT SEEMS THAT EVERYBODY HAS SOMETHING TO SAY ABOUT BUSING
WHAT'S YOUR OPINION OF BUSING, NIPPER ?
IT GETS YOU THERE AND BRINGS YOU BACK !

The vocabulary which concerns the use of busing for desegregation has been consistently mangled in media coverage of school desegregation. There is no such thing as "court-ordered busing" or "mandatory busing" or "forced busing across racial lines". The court can declare that a school district is illegally segregated, can order the desegregation of a school district, and can rule on the effectiveness of desegregation plans submitted by the School Board (acting as an agent of the State). The State provides transportation for reassignments which involve travel beyond a certain distance, as is the case for students who live that distance from their neighborhood school. In addition to transporting 1600 children involved in special education programs, Seattle public schools presently offer busing to 6000 students who live over two miles from their assigned school. For fifth and sixth graders, the defined distance is over a mile. This busing has been done outside the aegis of "massive" school desegregation.

Busing is a tool which belongs to a larger desegregation plan (such plans include establishing satellite attendance areas, pairing and clustering, gradelocking, establishing magnet schools, building schools and closing schools). It is not an end in itself.

The following statements by a Methodist clergyman illustrate the position of school busing as a necessary instrument for the attainment of justice in our society in the 1970's:

> Busing, I believe, is both a symbol and a fact of free access for inner-city residents ... Some persons within the minority communities have voiced strong opposition to busing and integrated schools. Such stances have usually come as understandable reactions to the hostile stance the white majority takes in resisting busing... I believe the overwhelming majority of persons in minority communities still see busing as absolutely crucial ... should busing cease, the quality of education for minority youth (may) suffer ...
>
> Busing offers some degree of relief to the educational hurts suffered by minority youth. But ... It is an often painful example of bureaucracy issuing decrees that regiment the lives of citizens weary of receiving long-distance instructions about how they should live their lives ...
>
> However, where is the alternative that is morally decent and available now? Where is the alternative that will heal these terrible wounds inflicted on the children of our cities? ... when people are hurting <u>today</u>, we cannot wait until tomorrow to provide a corrective. When people are hurting <u>now</u>, then <u>now</u> is the moment when God calls us to minister to them and disarm those powers inflicting the wounds.
>
> Busing is clearly an inadequate answer. But I believe it ... can effectively mitigate against the forces of powerlessness and denial of free access confronting a whole generation of youth in the cities of this nation.

Teachers' Manual

CURRICULUM GUIDE FOR

Class Session on

COMMUNITY OPINION

Goal: To become acquainted with some of the points of view present in the Seattle Community on the subject of desegregation and The Seattle Plan for the Elimination of Racial Imbalance, and to understand how the Seattle Plan was formulated.

The Resource Material (the pink section which follows) is position statements made by various community organizations in Seattle during the month of December, 1977, as the School Board was preparing to make its December 14th decision. Some of the statements were made at hearings the first part of December, some sent directly to the Board prior to the 14th of December, some were made the day of the decision and others shortly after the decision. All of the organizations represented in this material, with the exception of CIVIC which formed in the month of December, had been represented on the District-Wide Advisory Committee adivising the Superintendent on a plan to desegregate Seattle Public Schools.

Format: Several approaches to this class session may be taken; the following are three suggestions:

Format No.1: The week before the class session is held, give individual members of the class copies of one of the organizational statements, asking that they read the statement and be prepared to explain that position to the class the next week. If the class does not contain enough individuals for each to read only one statement, give two statements to each person.

During the class session, each member will briefly present the point of view of the organizational statement they read. The class will conclude with a general discussion of the following questions:

1. What are the similarities between the organizational statements?
2. What different points of view were expressed?
3. Does The Seattle Plan for the Elimination of Racial Imbalance reflect a concensus of most of the organizational statements?, if not, What kind of desegregation plan would have reflected a consensus?

Format No. 2: The class coordinator can briefly name the organizations to the class which have statements included in this book, and ask if the class would like to have representatives from one or more of the organizations speak to the class. A representative from one or more of the organizations could be invited to discuss their point of view with the class; this could be a panel discussion or simply a individual from one organization speaking.

Format No. 3: The class coordinator could become familiar with the statements from each organizations and discuss those positions with the class, providing class members will copies of the statements for review.

ASIAN AMERICAN EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

4609-49th Avenue South
Seattle, Washington 98118
725-5477

Gary Higashi, President
Rod Magat, Vice-President
Sandy Chock, Coor.Secretary
Hilo Hasegawa, Rec. Secretary
Clara Okada Schiesser, Treas.

STATEMENT ON THE PROPOSED SEATTLE PLAN FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL BALANCE

December 6, 1977

The Asian American Education Association applauds and supports the efforts of the Seattle School District in designing a realistic plan to solve the problem of segregation of the schools. We feel it to be a good plan because of its sense of realism and decency. As you know, it has been the reluctance of past school boards to be either realistic and/or decent in addressing the segregation question. Those boards prolonged and needlessly exacerbated the problem to the point that the courts are now ready to step in. This plan will remove the uncertainty of suits off the backs of the school board, and allow the parents, community and teachers to go about the real business of education.

This plan is not without its faults, however, and we wish to address those areas which are of primary concern to the Asians of this city.

First, we strongly urge you to not allow those students in the bi-lingual program whose language abilities are not sufficient for survival in American culture to be part of this plan. We understand that the district is currently conducting a study of the bi-lingual programs in Chicago and Boston, and feel it would be premature of you to make a decision without that report and more input from the Asian communities. Our primary concern is with those students in categories A and B and those in the lower three stanines of the Metropolitan Achievement Test in category C. At present, the only constraints upon the school district is compliance with the letter of the Lau decision which only provides ESL (English as a Second Language) training with back-up tutoring. The Seattle Schools need to do better than that so students will not only have survival skills, but can expand to higher educational goals. The needs are great and the situation is complex. We urge your utmost care in this area and are ready to provide you with help in making those decisions.

Second, as in the past, the AAEA strongly urges you to mandate human relations training for all staff in the effected schools through an expanded human relations task force team. Training should be expanded to include students at all levels, with particular emphasis upon an expansion of the

Rainbow Ethnic Cultural Heritage Program into the secondary level. If the curriculum will reflect a multi-cultural, multi-racial world, than those staffs are the resources which will provide the nuts and bolts for the teachers and students.

Third, the AAEA continues to oppose the Magnet options plan as part of the desegregation effort, due to its inherent inequities of educational opportunity. When we spoke to you last spring, we warned that you would be flirting with segregated schools within schools and would not substantially reduce segregation. We were right. The report of the District Wide Advisory Committee on Desegregation on Magnet Schools said that in many instances segregated clusters of students were found in many instances in both majority white and minority impacted schools. In addition, the proposed $15,000 per magnet per school to maintain the current magnets means an additional $2.5 to $3 million added to the estimated $9 to $12 million to implement the Seattle Plan. We would prefer that $2.5 to $3 be used in compensatory education or to put the money back into the general fund for use by all the school children.

But make no mistake, we support the Seattle Plan and feel it to be a basically sound approach for the following reasons:

1. First and foremost, it strips away the uncertainty of the past fifteen or twenty years in whether desegregation would ever be accomplished. It allows some things which have concerned Asian parents, chiefly continuity of the entire kindergarten through senior high experience without making parents wonder where their child might be sent the next year. This certainty allows parents and their children to make rational decisions based upon their educational needs rather than the conveniences of race.

2. The Seattle Plan helps to keep the neighborhoods together. This has long been a concern of Asian parents and students. This allows for a sufficient number of students in the schools to provide a realistic population for a truly multi-ethnic and multi-racial environment.

3. The plan provides for a greater involvement of the white communities and those parents and students who have either chosen not to be involved or are hesitant of what these changes might mean.

Let me assure those of the white communities that Asians throughout the south and southeastern regions welcome the opportunity to share with you our unique cultures and experiences and to provide for your children and ours the chance to learn in an environment of acceptance and mutual respect. We, like you, do not trust the courts to help us to learn from each other. Together, we can show what true brother and sisterhood is all about.

AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES ASSOCIATION (ACLA)
631 SOUTH 96TH STREET • SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98108

30 January 1978

PHONE: 762-4244

We oppose the forced aspect of the school busing planned by the School Board to start in September 1978. We object for the following reasons:

a. The time of the student outside legally required education hours belongs to the student under control of the parents. The School Board has no right to pre-empt this time.

b. No educational benefit derived from forced busing has been shown in any other city.

c. The cost is too high even if there is some supposed benefit. We think any available money should be used for teaching employable skills.

d. Forced busing will tear apart the Seattle School System.

e. The School Board Plan has students travelling in groups with only peripheral mixing with other groups. Hence it fails in its supposed purpose.

We believe the citizens of Seattle are entitled to vote on the issue and thus control the decision by majority vote. The only vote opportunity soon available is on the levy. We are urging voters to vote no as an expression of "no confidence" in the School Board.

If the vote is as lopsided against the School Board as we think it will be, we hope the six Board members will see the light, rescind the Plan, lower considerably the levy request, and submit the lower amount for vote. We would then support the levy.

If this does not happen, we will initiate recall.

Larry Penberthy

Larry Penberthy

aclu american civil liberties union of washington
2101 smith tower • seattle, washington 98104 • 624-2180

DESEGREGATION RESOLUTION

ACLU OF WASHINGTON
Board of Directors Resolution
December 17, 1978

Staff
Executive Director
David S. Harrison
Legislative Director
Michelle L. Pathrop
Administrative Assistant
Martha M. Woosa
Legal Coordinator
Evelyn D. Butler
Education Coordinator
Jade L. Hollingsworth

Officers
President
Mary Calkins
Vice President
Kay Frank
Secretary
Lyle Mercer
Treasurer
LeRoy, Anne
National Board Representative
Ann Weinrich

The board of directors of the American Civil Liberties Union of Washington views the adoption of a desegregation plan by the Seattle School Board on December 14 as a dramatic and important step towards the constitutionally required desegregation of the city's public schools.

When fully and properly implemented, this plan will remove Seattle from the threat of litigation challenging the school district's illegal maintenance of a racially imbalanced school system.

The members of the Seattle School Board who adopted this plan should be commended for their decisive action. Dozens of citizens groups should be recognized for their untiring efforts in developing a plan which will desegregate the schools.

The board of directors of the ACLU of Washington requests Fred Noland to continue his services as desegregation counsel to the ACLU, and requests that Bertha Houser, Cynthia Gillespie, Dan Levant, Jim Tyler, Marion West, Margaret Bland, Phil Ginsberg, Jim Martell, and Phil Burton continue to serve as the ACLU-W task force on desegregation.

The board further mandates its desegregation counsel and task force to take the following action:

a) closely monitor the implementation of the desegregation plan.
b) report to the board on the progress of that implementation at its regular March meeting.
c) report immediately to the board any indication that the plan is being implemented in such a manner that the goal of desegregating the school system is no longer assured.
d) continue to communicate closely with the Church Council of Greater Seattle, the NAACP, and other organizations with which such communication would be beneficial.
e) evaluate the advisability of legal intervention in any lawsuit filed against the school district by parties seeking to block the desegregation plan.
f) participate in efforts to inform Seattle citizens as to the reasons for adopting and implementing the plan.

TO: MR. DON OLSON, President; and Members
Seattle School Board

The Central Area School Council strongly and enthusiasticly supports the Seattle Plan for desegregation as outlined in the revised plan dated December 2, 1977.

We support the plan because it is meant to be permanent and, we trust, will not be abandoned like earlier "desegregation plans."

We support the Seattle Plan because it has:

*Fixed Assignments

*Clear Feeder Patterns

*Equity of Movement

This means the plan will work!

Wishy washy volunteer programs have not worked. Minority children have consistently borne the burden of desegregation. The Central Area School Council will not support another year of confusion under unfair, misguided and misunderstood

Voluntary transfers or
One-sided bussing.

The Central Area School Council urges the people of Seattle to talk and think positively in their homes and neighborhoods about the ideas and ideals of desegregation and cultural enrichment.

We therefore urge the Board to make a clear, long term commitment to the plan and to implement desegregation -- at last -- BOLDLY and DECISIVELY.

The Central Area School Council

CASC
12/7/77

Seattle
Chamber of Commerce
215 Columbia Street
Seattle, Wa., 98104

December 14, 1977

LETTER TO THE SEATTLE SCHOOL BOARD PRESIDENT, DON OLSON

Dear Don,

The Seattle Chamber of Commerce is supportive of the actions of the Seattle School Board today in taking one more step toward the elimination of racial imbalance in the school district. We are aware of the magnitude of the endeavor and fully realize the need to continue the development of the plan so as to achieve the educational excellence set forth as its objectives. The School Board's adoption of this resolution is an important step in that direction.

Your resolution and continued development of the plan recognizes the importance of giving the students a choice of options, plus utilizing means of student movement which include the use of zones and pairs. The Chamber's Board of Trustees embraces this concept because it insures stability for the student and administrative control for the District.

The School Board resolution indicates there is the freedom for some changes to be made, and has chosen to identify those schools within each zone that potentially will be paired or triaded with others in their zone. This provides the flexibility for some additional evaluation of the compatibility of pairs, and the establishment of feeder patterns. The Chamber feels that this is an area that should be improved, since potential for improvement in a number of the identified pairs and feeder patterns in the administrative guidelines is apparent.

The assurance of quality program development and its availability on an equitable basis throughout the District should be the focus of the next few weeks work. The number of programs to be established and their location has yet to be decided, and these characteristics will play a vital role in the success of the desegregation effort. It is essential that the accessibility and enrollment procedures be clearly stated so as to inform parents of the exact action required to take advantage of program options.

The next 6 weeks of community input will be extremely important. The opportunity for community leaders, parents, and school administrators to make suggested revisions will require many long hours of hearings and evaluations. It is that commitment that has made the Seattle Plan, truly one for and by the community. We are sure that this process will provide needed suggestions to correct minor problems existing in the administrative guidelines.

The date for this year's levy election is fast approaching, and with it is a dire need for accurate financial data for both the schools' regular operations and the desegregation aspects of this upcoming year. We would like to emphasize the urgency of this need and encourage the District to refine their estimates as soon as possible.

The School Board and administration are to be commended for their work, both in development of the plan, and in the implementation of the community involvement process, which has been truly accessible since the effort began.

We are encouraged by the most recent developments in the plan. We are most pleased to be a part of that activity, and will continue to be involved in the future.

Sincerely,

WALLACE R. BUNN

Action of the Board of Directors
Church Council of Greater Seattle

REGARDING THE DESEGREGATION OF SEATTLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The Board of Directors of the Church Council of Greater Seattle, acting on a recommendation of the Task Force on Racial Justice, recommends that the Seattle School Board adopt a fixed assignment desegregation plan on December 14, 1977, along the lines of the Triad Plan.

We recognize that the final plan, adopted on December 14th for implementation during the 1978-79 and 1979-80 school years, could contain components of the other four plans currently under community consideration. We have, however, reviewed the five alternative plans as they are written, and recommend a fixed assignment triad (grade reconfiguration) plan as the most just and effective of the five alternative plans. It is most compatible with the concept of "pluralism" to which the Church Council is committed.

The issues of great concern to us are the following:

1. We recommend that the final plan guarantee equity of student movement. The Triad Plan is the only plan which adequately addresses this issue. The Church Council believes equity should be defined as moving equal percentages of white and minority students, rather than moving equal numbers of white and minority students. About one-third of Seattle's public school population is defined as "minority" (Black, Asian American, Chicano, and Native American); therefore, only one-third of the students moving for desegregation purposes should be minority. The other two-thirds should be white.

We are concerned that none of the plans identify where individual minority group students will be moving. We feel that the final plan should include data on the racial percentages of movement by group (i.e., the numbers of Black, Asian American, Native American and Chicano as well as white students moving). The assumption that everyone who is not white can be placed in a single "minority" category is unrealistic and insensitive. Seattle's desegregation plan must address the unique multi-racial character of our city.

2. We recommend that the final plan guarantee equal educational opportunity. Plans relying heavily on "Magnet-like" programs to "draw" student movement have the disadvantage of creating educational inequality in the District. Attempting to encourage students to move in the District for desegregation purposes by offering them a "superior" education will by definition result in an "inferior" education for all other students. Because none of the plans relying on Magnets(I, III, IV) provide magnet opportunities for all students in the District, we would be institutionalizing an unequal system of education in the District. Under plans I, III, and IV a superior education would be provided for about 20,000 students; an inferior education to 43,000 students. We fine this inequity totally unacceptable. Extra resources now available to Magnet students should be available to all students.

Another aspect of the "inequity" in Plans I, III, and IV is the matter of the mandatory follow-up to voluntary student movement. About 17% of the students moving in these plans are white, and 30% are minority students. Given our experience in desegregating Middle Schools through voluntary recruitment, followed by mandatory assignment, we can assume that at the most 50% of the student movement necessary will be successfully recruited. If half the needed white students move as volunteers, and half the needed

minority students move as volunteers, then we will have to mandatorily assign more minority students. (8% of the white population as opposed to 15% of the minority population). This again results in inequity of student movement. It would also mean that "magnet-type" resources will be made available to fewer minority than white students because mandatory assignments will not be made to specialized magnet programs, as the plans are written.

As a "fixed assignment" plan, the Triad Plan does not rely on the need to create inequality in the District in order to end "racial imbalance". (The Boundary Plan (II) also has this advantage.)

3. We recommend that program options for students be provided within buildings primarily. Having completed the job of desegregation with a fixed assignment plan, such as the Triad Plan, we would be free to address the need for quality education for all students more adequately. The Church Council expects that educational options can be provided for students within buildings and that some specialized programs can be continued. The Triad Plan would not preclude the establishment of educational options within buildings and throughout the District. Our concern is that the distribution of resources remain consistent throughout the District; that no child benefit from a program at the expense of other children. We fear that children of "sophisticated" parents would be most likely to take advantage of enriched programs, while other children who would also benefit from enrichment would be penalized - "magnets" appear to us to be "elitist" programs.

4. We recommend that funds needed to recruit and publicize voluntary phases of a desegregation plan be spent instead on improving educational quality for everyone. Plans which rely heavily on voluntary strategies for moving students require large expenditures of time, money and energy each year to publicize and recruit students. Adoption of a desegregation plan that relies heavily on voluntary recruitment--on a scale never before attempted here--would put the District under a continuing "burden" year after year. The large energy/time/financial commitment could easily b diluted in time, forcing us to rely on mandatory assignments in the future; money and energy would be best directed at improving educational quality.

Finally a "fixed assignment" plan will make transportation planning and routing much more efficient. It would be possible to facilitate student movement between specific areas of the city, by controlling movement between "Triad" or "Paired" areas or at least between "zones". We have grave doubts that an effective transportation system could be set up without a high degree of control over student movement. Money needed for complicated transportation routing could best be spent on educational resources.

Several other issues also concern us:

5. We recommend that the minority percentage in each minority imbalanced school be held as close to 50% as possible, rather than being reduced below that figure. We are concerned that the racial percentages of each minority group of students attending each school be substantial enough to preserve students ethnic identity. We wish to retain at least a 50% minority enrollment in each school presently identified as "minority imbalanced". We recognize that not every school in Seattle can reflect the city's multi-racial character. Some schools will not be involved in desegregation efforts.

Furthermore, when groups of minority students are moved for desegregation purposes, they should be moved in such a way that they remain together in sufficient numbers to

retain racial identity. Attention needs to be paid to the racial percentages which will result, by individual racial group (Asian, Black, Native American, Chicano, as well as White). The Triad plan moves students in groups with their age and racial peers. As presently written, however, it reduces minority percentages too much. We recommend that new pairs and triads be simulated in the final plan retaining a 50% minority population.

6. We recommend that special student needs be addressed adequately in the final plan. Specific techniques for interfacing student movement and the needs of bi-lingual, Title I and similar programs are omitted from all the proposed plans. It is essential that plans for providing Title I, bi-lingual and similar services be outlined specifically in the final desegregation plan. This would include the naming of bi-lingual program sites. Language centers could be set up to serve students presently with special bilingual needs.

7. We recommend that human relations training be emphasized in the final desegregation plan. We strongly recommend that all staff (certificated and non-certificated) on the staff in desegregating schools participate in Human Relations training; and urge that the Superintendent, School Board Members, and Administrative Staff set an example for staff training by participating in Human Relations training themselves. Follow-up workshops (3-4 hrs. each) should be held in each building during the school year.

An opportunity for the Superintendent, School Board and members of DWAC to participate in a training program and planning session in a "retreat" setting should be provided for.

This years' budget for human relations training is less than last years; we recommend that the District demonstrate it's commitment to a positive human relations climate in desegregating schools by providing sufficient financial support for a viable human relations program.

8. We recommend that curriculum development and content be addressed more adequately in the final desegregation plan. While valuing a diverse educational system, the Church Council feels that resources and exciting opportunities need to be made available to all students throughout the District. Detailed plans for multi-ethnic, multi-cultural curricula need to be included in the final plan. The success of multi-racial schools will be dependent on the use of multi-racial curriculum and the human relations climate in each classroom.

9. We recommend that the District consider its affirmative action plan as part of the desegregation plans. We regard the District's affirmative action plan as an integral part of any desegregation plan, and are particulary concerned 1) about upward mobility for minorities and women in order to increase their representation in top management positions, and 2) that the percentage of minority staff in the District be increased to equal the percentage of student population.

10. We strongly recommend that the transportation system be computerized.

In conclusion, the Church Council of Greater Seattle again pledges itself to work in a cooperative manner with the District and other community organizations as we develop a just and equitable plan to end "racial imbalance" in Seattle.

We look forward to the opening of school in 1979 and 1980 with the expectation that Seattle will have ended racial segregation peaceful by its own action with a broad base of community support - a unique accomplishment for a major urban city.

We are grateful of the tremendous investment of time, energy and commitment on the part of School Board members, District planners, members of the District-Wide Advisory Committee on Desegregation, and the members of numerous community groups and individual citizens who have worked hard to bring us to the point where we can see our goal on the horizon. The next 5 weeks are an especially critical period of time; let us "keep the faith".

Church Council of Greater Seattle

Mr. Don Olson
President
Seattle School Board
815 4th Avenue North
Seattle, WA 98109

Dear School Board Members:

The critical decision moment is at hand, if Seattle is to be the first metropolitan city to desegregate without the intervention of a Court. The level of community support for the proposed Seattle Plan is enormous in comparison to historical support for desegregation efforts here and elsewhere. An extensive process of community involvement preceded the development of this final plan, and despite the expression of some criticism of the plan, it seems clear to us that the community stands with you more solidly than you would have expected six months ago. We urge you to act with courage and decisiveness on December 14th.

We believe that the Seattle Plan for Desegregation will justly and effectively end racial imbalance in our schools for the following reasons:

1) The Plan will end racial segregation once and for all, without relying on extensive recruitment year after year and without random student reassignment which would be disruptive and costly.

2) The Plan gives parents a clear picture of where their children will attend school every year, K-12.

3) The Plan allows students to attend school with their neighborhood peers.

4) The Plan moves minority students in numbers sufficient to maintain their ethnic identity.

5) The Plan provides for the maintenance and improvement of the quality of education in the public schools, and for educational options both within paired/triaded school buildings and through special program sites, in order to better serve individual needs.

6) The Plan reduces the tendency to institutionalize the educational inequity possible through a voluntary approach relying on magnets to draw students for desegregation purposes.

7) The Plan minimizes the cost and mechanics of city-wide transportation by facilitating student movement within the limited geographic areas of Zones and between school pairs and triads.

8) The Plan tends toward an equity of student movement between majority and minority students, in a contrast to a voluntary with mandatory back-up approach, which would be voluntary for white students, and mandatory for minority students.

We do recognize that inequities exist in the Plan, such as the greater travel distances in Zone I pairings, and that fine tuning of the Plan needs to continue after December 14th. It has, however, has always been clear to us, that all majority schools in the District could not be included in a just desegregation plan; the latter would require minority students to be dispersed in schools in numbers too small to retain their racial identity, and also would require minority students to move in greater numbers than their white schoolmates.

After adoption of the Plan, we urge your close attention to the following matters:

Plans for the protection and interfacing of special student programs (i.e. compensatory education, URRD, Title I, bi-lingual programs, special education, etc.) must be detailed more fully and specifically. We urge the District to pay close attention to the human relations climate in all schools, by requiring in-service training for staff on all levels (certificated and non-certificated), and by providing opportunities for human relations classes for students. We assume that the District's Affirmative Action Plan will be considered and implemented in conjunction with the Seattle PIan so that minority staff will be represented in individual schools in proportion to the school's minority student population.

We see the upcoming levy as essential to the effective and appropriate progress of desegregation in the District, and also for the maintenance and further development of quality education within Seattle Public Schools. In pledging our support and assistance in the implementation of the Seattle Plan, we intend to endorse and to work for passage of the levy, and to continue to support the public schools of our city.

We want to express our appreciation for your thoughtful deliberation over these past months. In acting positively now on the Seattle Plan, you will have led Seattle into the just, equitable and peaceful elimination of racial segregation in the public schools; an accomplishment that will benefit countless future generations of Seattle students. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Dr. William B. Cate
President-Director
Church Council of Greater Seattle

Adopted by the Church Council Board of Directors on December 13, 1977.

December 5, 1977

TESTIMONY BY CITY OF SEATTLE

BEFORE SEATTLE SCHOOL BOARD

President Olson, Members of the Board, I am R.W. Wilkinson, Jr., Deputy Mayor of Seattle. I am here on behalf of both Mayor Uhlman and Mayor-Elect Charles Royer. They have asked me to assure you that City support for school desegregation will continue without interruption as we move from the present administration into the next ...

School desegregation is another issue in a long line of issues which we are addressing ourselves. We have had the opportunity to learn from the experiences of other cities. We know that if we pull together we can do the job without outside intervention and without losing the authority which should rest in the hands of local officials...

Desegregating the Seattle way means desegregating the best way. The goals are reliable transportation and good programs, choices among teaching styles and course content, excellence in all schools, and Seattle in control. Doing it the best way will cost money. And that means the State of Washington must do its share for Seattle to accomplish something that has never been done in the country before.

... I want to emphasize again that the City has been behind you from the beginning, is solidly with you still, and will be with you in September. I want to thank you for not taking the easy way out -- for having the great courage to do the right thing -- for paving the way for all of us who live here to enjoy Seattle's greatest asset -- all of its people.

December 29, 1977

The Honorable Don Olson, President
Honorable Members
Seattle School Board
Administrative and Service Center
815 4th Avenue North
Seattle, Washington 98109

Dear President Olson:

In May of this year, we urged you to move ahead to provide quality integrated education in the Seattle Public Schools. At the same time, we shared with you our appreciation of the extreme difficulties inherent in developing, adopting and implementing a successful desegregation plan. We offered full support for your efforts from the City of Seattle, the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, the Municipal League of Seattle and King County and the Seattle Urban League. We were convinced that a local solution to the problem of segregated schools would be by far the most sensitive and the most responsive to the special needs of Seattle.

Over the past six months, with the help of a dedicated Superintendent and staff and many committed citizens, you have reinforced our belief in the advantages of a local desegregation plan. You have listened to the public and kept the public informed. While the Seattle Plan may not satisfy everyone, it reflects the hard decisions and compromises which resulted from a participatory process made possible by retaining local control of the issue. On December 14, your adoption of Resolution 77-28 was an historic act in which you and Seattle citizens can take great pride.

The foundation has been laid. With the cooperation of parents and students and the support of the community, Seattle can now build a quality integrated school system. The implementation of the plan will be the most difficult job of all. In the months ahead, we remain ready to help you in every way we can.

Sincerely,

Wes Uhlman, Mayor, CITY OF SEATTLE

Wallace R. Bunn, President, SEATTLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Shan Mullin, President, MUNICIPAL LEAGUE OF SEATTLE AND KING COUNTY

Jerome W. Page, Executive Director, SEATTLE URBAN LEAGUE

CITIZENS FOR VOLUNTARY INTEGRATION COMMITTEE (CiVIC)
P.O. Box 24245, Seattle, Washington 98124

POSITION PAPER

1. Citizens for Voluntary Integration Committee (CiVIC) is a non-profit corporation, the specific purpose of which is to:
   A. Oppose the loss of freedom inherent in mandatory school assignments based on racial or ethnic identification; and
   B. To promote quality education on an equal basis for all.
2. Membership is open to any person sympathetic to the aims of CiVIC. People of all racial and ethnic backgrounds are welcome.
3. Our goals will be achieved through the legislative process, through whatever legal action is necessary, and by informing the public of what we are doing, why it is necessary, and how they can help.
4. We will not argue whether the Seattle School Board has the authority to implement the proposed mandatory busing program. We will simply use the legal and legislative process to remove that authority.
5. Eventual policy regarding the coming school levy, or possible recall of the School Board, will be determined at the appropriate time -- based on our primary concern for long-range quality education.
6. We believe that even a moderately successful voluntary program will do far more to improve our interracial relations than a set of numbers showing compliance to an arbitrary quota.
7. We believe that an open enrollment policy, where essentially any student can attend any school in Seattle, is the best way to integrate our schools.
8. We would like to work directly with the Seattle School Board in creating a voluntary integration program based on open enrollment -- as soon as they eliminate all mandatory aspects, including mandatory backup, from their considerations.
9. We believe that mandatory busing is unacceptable to any person who values individual freedom.
10. We are not militant -- but we are determined.

Gary F Roe

Gary F. Roe
Chairman of the Board
12-29-77

RECOMMENDATIONS AND/OR STATEMENTS REGARDING
DESEGREGATION ISSUES

This statement was read at the 11/16/77 School Board Meeting
by Connie Herring of NAACP, speaking for a coalition of Black community groups.

1. Parameters for any Desegregation Plan.

A. FIXED ASSIGNMENTS vs. VOLUNTARY

We recommend that any desegregation plan adopted must be based on a fixed assignment strategy. We will not accept any plan based upon voluntary strategies. We feel that this only side-steps the issue, and as a result the issue will not be dealt with effectively or completely. Those students that are already volunteer racial transfers (VRT'S) should be allowed to remain where they are if where their presence improves the racial balance in those schools. But in the school year 1978-1979 and beyond all students will have to participate in the fixed assignment program.

B. CONTINUITY

We cannot support any desegregation plan, which does not foster or ensure a sense of community...We, therefore, suggest that the population involved in any desegregation plan should come from within specific corridors of the city, with no future allowances set-up within the plan for exemptions, outside of these desegregated corridors.

We feel that there can be a community with diversity. Our aim is toward heterogeneity: ethnicly, culturally and economically. We feel that there should be continuity between the educational experiences within any program area, so that the "total educational experience" is consistent and consonant with prior learning experience as a compliment and as a logical follow-up.

2. EQUITY FOR BLACK YOUTH

We feel that wherever our youth are located, in their traditional or historic communities, or in "alien areas", their numbers should not be so few as to not have a stable social reference group with which to mingle and gain informal support; the sharing of our culture must not be impaired. Therefore, we recommend that those schools which have traditionally and historically been deemed "minority schools" maintain no less than 50% minority enrollment. Where minority students have to transfer to create or impact racial balance, then no less than 34% minority students be re-assigned to any school other than or outside of their traditional or historic school. More, what ever the plan adopted we don't want it that Black youth bear the burden or the transfer. The plan should be fair, just, and equitable for Black youth.

The work assignments given to Black staff and faculity should be in the educational interest of the Black student at their respective schools; i.e., placed where students need them rather than where convenient for the host school and staff.

Further, we want a representative and sensitive faculty and staff that will provide formal and informal support for the youth transferred from our community. We recommend that the faculty and staff be increased to be proportional with existing and projected increases in the minority student population. We also recommend that all staff in Seattle Public School be required to participate in human relations, workshops, seminar, training and similar work/training learn experience. When these conditions are met we in our community can feel reasonably secure that our youth will not be harmed by the desegregation plan adopted.

C. KINDERGARTEN

We cannot support any desegregation plan that does not include the participation of kindergarten age students. Further more, all kindergarten programs should be comparable in scope, content, and quality.

D. PRESERVATION OF PRESENT PROGRAMS

1. Within any desegregation plan that is adopted the middle school program should be maintained, however, the assignment process should be consistent with the overall plan.

2. We strongly recommend that the present Magnet/VRT programs be reconstituted to be consistent with the concepts and overall philosophy of providing quality educational opportunities that all children can enjoy and not for the singular purposes of moving bodies. If reconstituted, these types of programs can offer the real possibility of a variety of full participation in programs offered within the school and would not facilitate segregation within a desegregated school.

3. The structure of open-space facilities cannot be a determining factor for possible exemption within a desegregation plan. The structure of facilities... cannot be used as a basis for exemption. No schools (facilities) are to be exempted.

E. NEED FOR OPTIONS

We feel that there are fundamental educational needs and providing for these needs should be required and comparable in all schools. This would eliminate to a great extent the need for program transfers throughout the district and would efficiently allow for the control of student population within any desegregation plan. We strongly recommend that all schools be staffed with the following in order to facilitate educational options at the building level. The following specialist should be responsible for coordinating and operating their special programs.

- student support services specialist
- reading specialist
- math specialist
- P.E. specialist
- Music specialist
- Art specialist

E. NEED FOR OPTIONS (cont.)

- Health Services personnel (nurse)
- Library specialist
- Career guidance counselor at high school level
- Social awarness at high school level

We recognize the value of existing special programs in our community and wish them to remain, and old programs should be enriched.

Wherever there are Black youth there are certain needs. The schools must be sensitive to these needs in such a manner that they are manifected in programming. These needs must aggressively be met. Therefore, we must have special math and reading skill programs.

F. BUILDING CAPACITY

We recommend that the use of portable facilities be limited to the housing of special programs and not be used for regular class instruction. Further, we recommend that the school district revise their present formula for determining building capacity. We would support a formula using the number of teaching stations multiplied by the number of students, based on the negotiated student-teacher ratio. We further acknowledge that the School Board must urgently make plans for the renovation and remodeling of present buildings to facilitate the desire to ultimately eliminate portables completely and only utilize in-building space.

All possible useable school space which is located in the general minority community must be used as a base for figuring out the base number from which a minimum of 50% will be generated. "With the double elimination of minority youth; capacity of buildings and the 50% cut-off, We realize this has a large impact on the actual number of minority youth to be operated when it is not necessary."

G. COST OF TRANSPORTATION

As the present desegregation plans have been presented, the cost of transportation as a determining factor within the context of desegregation is emerging as the significant issue. We feel that within this issue of transportation, the factors concerning length of transportation routes and efficiency of transportation should be the overriding factor, over any cost consideration.

H. WHITE FLIGHT

WE REFUSE TO GIVE THE ISSUE OF WHITE FLIGHT ANY CREDENCE. We cannot base a comprehensive desegregation program on whether or not certain portions of the cities' population will leave. We have to base a comprehensive desegregation plan on who will be living in the city and attending the schools. If 10-20% of the white population felt a need to leave, we would still have a school district and would still be obligated to offer quality education. The goal for Seattle should be to develop a comprehensive desegregation program, that will allow us to develop sound and quality educational objectives. This goal shouldn't be undercut by the threats of any special interest group, who does not appear to be concerned about the future of Seattle's children as a whole.

I. SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND RACIAL DESEGREGATION

We feel that regardless of the plan adopted by the Seattle Public Schools, that plan should include deliberate progress toward racial and socio-economic heterogenity in all schools participating in the overall desegregation effort. We further suggest that all schools in the greater Seattle School system which are not participating in the desegregation plan...should be duly incorporated into a broader plan which would focus on socio-economic desegregation. This we feel to be in the interest of the general health of the youth of Seattle.

J. BILINGUAL CONSIDERATIONS

We feel that the District has an obligation to fulfill the need of a Bilingual or any child with a language barrier yet. We also see a paramount need for desegregation. We feel that meeting the needs of children with language barriers can and should be met within the frame work of desegregation. We strongly recommend that the issue of Bilingual programs should not defuse or detract from the overall issue of desegregation. Further, we feel that many black children incur difficulties in their learning process due to language barriers. That dialectic barriers are just as paramount as specific language barriers, and that any considerations for bilingual programmings should equally include the barriers of dialectic problems.

COMMITTEE FOR SOUTH EAST SEATTLE SCHOOLS

Statement to Seattle School Board
read by Grover Haynes on December 5, 1977

The Committee for South East Seattle Schools wishes to make a statement ... regarding the "Seattle Plan" for the elimination of racial imbalance in its schools.

For too long we have felt that schools in our area have been neglected in terms of commitment and funds for program emphasis. We've had meeting after meeting in which we have listened to parents express their wish for better educational programs in our schools for our children.

This year especially, we have felt the impact of inequity due to implementation of the Magnet Plan. By making it a separate program within a school, we have often seen more separation between the races. In the opinion of many of us, we cannot help but feel that this plan has been unfair. The program enrichment of a full school magnet such as that at John Muir Elementary School has been a positive example of what can be done with extra monies. These are the kinds of programs that will benefit the schools in the South End. The Committee for South East Seattle Schools will support the fixed assignment; however, we feel strongly that these points need special consideration:

Staff --- Where does staff movement fit into this? Will parts of school staff be moving with students? Is this a negotiable item? Or is staff movement tied up with S.T.A.? Will they be given multi-ethnic training? We strongly emphasize multi-ethnic training for all administration and staff and that this training be done before 1978-79 school year starts.

Racial Balance --- When will communities know there is a racial balance? Will it be in September '78 or in January '79 and if so, will there be a reshuffling at that time? What is the rationale to pairing with a school that is up for closure? Specifically Hawthorne in South Seattle.

Transportation --- We hope that there is supervision on all buses with enriching experiences as some buses have at present. And that all buses be equipped with seat belts. We also feel there is an inequity in travel time within certain zones.

Zones and Pairing --- Some of the South East schools will be in the North End schools for 6 years, i.e., Van Asselt, Wing Luke, and Columbia. Either your junior high or senior high period should be spent in the home area for all students unless the student opts for special programs. Pairing could be more equitable as far as mixing the socio-economic levels. More higher socio-economic level area schools should be considered! Pairing schools should be done and based on a similar philosophy within the schools to be paired, i.e. open concept with open concept. Zone I and Zone II need to have more options. Kindergarten should be omitted from fixed assignment. It is important that neighborhood students should move in a group and stay together throughout the 12 years. The zoning is very inequitable as far as the Franklin consortium is concerned. They should be paired with the schools that are set to be paired wit Garfield, and Garfield should be paired with the schools that Franklin is to be paired with. The travel time for Franklin area students is a major concern.

Curriculum
Consistency in educational programs is a priority. Offering programs and then dropping them within a year or two jeopardizes quality education. We also stress continuation of a strong consistent bi-lingual program.

Report on Community Meetings to Seattle School Board

As you are aware, representatives of the District-Wide Advisory Committee for Desegregation participated in some 30 community meetings throughout the City of Seattle for the purpose of explaining the five desegregation plans submitted to the public for the elimination of racial imbalance in the Seattle Public Schools by 1979-80. Contained herein is a summary of those representatives' observations of the community meetings.

- First and foremost, parents are concerned about quality education for their children. However, there appeared to be little agreement as to the process by which one achieves that goal.

- Citizens in general appear to be interested, anxious and concerned about desegregation and the nature of the plan to achieve that goal.

- Citizens in the north end of Seattle seem to be less inclined to accept desegregation from a legal, education and moral point-of-view than citizens in the central, south and southeast areas of the city.

- Citizens are not unanimous in their enthusiasm for desegregation. Those who attended meetings in the northern and western areas of Seattle were more inclined to ask questions concerning the need for desegregation than were citizens in the central and southeast areas of the city.

- Citizens expressed a need to have both consistency and continuity in educational programs for their children.

- Parents with children in both the VRT and Magnet programs expressed both a high degree of satisfaction with those programs and a desire for those programs to continue as a part of any desegregation plan.

- Parents of children from various ethnic groups express a need for the desegregation plan to allow them to maintain ethnic identity within the public schools.

- Parents of handicapped children expressed a great deal of concern about desegregation programs being available to their children.

- Parents with children in the Magnet school program tend to express feelings that the administration, if not the Board, committed itself to continuance of the program for at least three years.

- Parents expressed the need to know the programs and the locations of the programs that their children would be attending throughout their school experience in the Seattle Public Schools.

- People express a great desire for choice but tend to perceive greater equity in the Triad plan.

- People express a great deal of concern about equality of educational opportunity.

- People express concern about equal distribution of resources to all schools.

- People express concern over the high costs associated with plan I, III, IV and V.

- Many parents expressed a concern for their children to be able to attend school with brothers and sisters, as well as neighborhood friends.

- For the most part, parents at each meeting expressed support for both the expanded Magnet and the boundary realignment and the Triad plans.

- There was concern that the plan not allow segregation to exist within schools.

Richard L. Andrews, Chairperson
District-Wide Advisory Committee
for Desegregation

COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PARENT ADVISORY COUNCIL
POSITION STATEMENT TO SEATTLE SCHOOL BOARD

November 15, 1977

The CEPAC Executive Board members are not about to see our children thrown from pillar to post because the school district's major concern is to balance numbers. We demand guarantees for all our Compensatory Programs, including Title I and Urban-Rural-Racial Disadvantaged. Our compensatory programs serve children with low achievement in basic skills of reading and math. They help children who because of their cultural, language, ethnic or socio-economic differences, must have special services if they are to face the future. Otherwise they will become drop outs, and all their lives will remind us that, "the mind is a terrible thing to waste."

We parents demand that you seriously consider the special needs of our children and give them something to look forward to instead of shuffling them to the four corners of Seattle's school system.

We represent 61 Title I and URRD programs serving nearly 10,000 students. These programs are effective, and we want them protected. We want to guarantee that under desegregation every student who is now in, or eligible for Title I and URRD will be given services at least equal to what they are now getting in our programs. We want District money set aside to guarantee these services. And we want these same guarantees to apply for all students who in the future are eligible for Title I or URRD services. Any desegregation plan that you adopt must contain specific provision for the needs of our students.

As Shirley Chisholm has so rightly said, "Poor children who are educationally disadvantaged face a double burden." The Title I law recognizes this truth, and states that programs must be concentrated in low-income neighborhoods where the educational needs are greatest. Seattle Title I programs are in compliance with this requirement, and they are educationally successful. These programs must be continued.

But if any of our children who need Title I are moved out of Title I neighborhood schools because of desegregation, they will not receive these services. Therefore, we want a guarantee that if Title I eligible students are moved, District funds will be set aside to guarantee them remedial services.

There are 13 URRD programs - American Indian Heritage, Beacon Hill Bilingual, CAMPI Satellite Preschools, Cleveland/Mercer Bilingual, Follow Through, Franklin Bilingual, Garfield Alternative, Gypsy Alternative, People's School No. 1, Project Interchange, Proyecto Saber, School-Age Parent and School/Community Liaison Services. Most of these programs are already enhancing desegregation. They are all well established in geographical areas where the needs are greatest. These programs would be effectively destroyed if the students enrolled in them were moved.

For example, students in Proyecto Saber number less than 200. If they were dispersed throughout the city, they couldn't be reached for service. Another example: This fall the District relocated Follow Through in two schools away from the neighborhoods that have traditionally provided the Follow Through enrollment. Now the program is only serving one-half as many children as last year.

Students in the 13 URRD programs must not be mandatorily assigned for desegregation. These children have qualified for and need these programs, and they have chosen to participate. Their needs and their choices must be respected.

DISTRICT-WIDE ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR DESEGREGATION RECOMMENDATION

from the minutes of November 9, 1977 meeting

A motion was passed that : DWAC advocates a plan within the structure of zones with fixed assignments as primary strategies and program options as secondary strategies rather than a primarily voluntary plan with a secondary mandatory backup. The motion passed 18 to 7.

a.Students would be assigned with elimination of racial imbalance in mind and then options would be provided within buildings or other structures (such as zones) at a later time.

B. Fixed assignment includes reconfiguration, boundary changes, selection by lottery etc. - a grade or geographic base for selection being used. Random computer reassignment is considered to be a mandatory backup even relative to fixed assignment, according to the member making the motion.

c. Fixed assignment means knowing where every child is assigned, by building. (This definition of fixed assignment is different from that established in past DWAC meetings, where fixed assignment referred only to the placing of a student in an attendance area that included a number of schools.) Fixed assignment does not imply that every child moves, but only that certain groups selected by grade or geographical location move.

d. A fixed assignment carries a student from K-12.

e. It was stated that the method of selection should assign students not only to the school that enhances racial balance, but to a school with programs appropriate to that student.

f. The population of a school is the resident (neighborhood) population plus the current VRTs enrolled there. A child in a transfer program currently would be part of the attendan population of a school.

g. The VRT program would not be continued, but present VRTs will be identified with the school they are attending now.

h. This motion proposes that a fixed assignment feeder pattern be established but that limited option exceptions be permitted. A school other than that indicated in the feeder pattern would have to be specifically requested, and enrollment lidding or a lottery system would be needed to guarantee racial balance within the zone or sub-zone.

i. Students not selected to leave their neighborhood schools would have options just as students with fixed assignments away from neighborhood schools.

j. The motion discourages completely voluntary choice of an assigned school within a zone.

k. It would be acceptable within the conditions set by the motion for parents in paired schools to meet and agree to move certain groups of their students (in attrade between the paired schools aimed at enhancing racial balance).

l. It is acknowledged that the motion does not provide for community input into selection generally, nor for alternative plans for the Board to consider.

m. The motion does not provide for a group of schools linked together by the Board's action on December 14th to come back with their own plan, even one that follows the Board's criteria and guidelines.

League of Women Voters of Seattle
1402 18th Avenue
Seattle, Washington 98122
329-4848

December 5, 1977

STATEMENT TO THE SEATTLE SCHOOL BOARD

I am Astrid Hedman, president of the League of Women Voters of Seattle. The Seattle Plan for eliminating racial imbalance by the 1979-80 school year is one that League supports in its essential concepts of zoning, fixed assignment, groupings of schools, grade reconfiguration and establishment of feeder patterns.

We are concerned that planners do not appear to have heard the community suggestions regarding some pairings, excessive distances, and the preservation of integrated neighborhoods. League recognizes the inevitability of inequity in any plan that may be adopted, however it is structured, but we feel that these inequities impact much more heavily than they should in Zone I, where lengthy bus rides, inappropriate pairings, deletion of successful Magnet programs, and negative consequences of the plan in integrated and integrating housing may serve to discourage support of the plan. We recommend that the School Board give attention to the loss of Magnet programs, especially those which have enjoyed significant community input in their development. The location of magnets needs to be determined and announced without delay. To postpone announcement is to increase the parent' feelings of distrust.

It must be acknowledged by the District that there are school facilities into which parents do not want to move their children. Adequate provisions must be made to upgrade those facilities and to help eliminate other reservations parents may have. We believe that Seattle will support the funding necessary for an educational system that meets the needs of the individual child.

Your openess to amending the plan to consider the citizens suggestions that you may hear this week is crucial to gaining the community acceptance needed to successfully implement the plan. Our concern for citizens' ability to impact the plan leads also to the suggestion that the Board consider lengthening the time for community refinement of the plan you adopt and that you make available to community groups data and computer time to help them in their work. We commend the inclusion of evaluation of the plan after the first half year. We recommend that such review be an open process and that public hearings be part of it.

We believe that Seattle must accept the responsibility for an integrated school system and to that end the League of Women Voters pledges its support.

Municipal League of Seattle and King County

DESEGREGATION - Doing the Job Right

Recently passed School Board Resolution 77-28, defining desegregation goals, is responsive to community concerns and generally provides sufficient strategies to implement a desegregation plan.

While the League supports the resolution, it feels the implementing administrative guidelines (the Seattle Plan) still need some work. The Municipal League has expressed particular concern with the following aspects of desegregation planning:

PROGRAM OPTIONS: To what extent will they be available to majority and minority students, both within and outside targeted schools?

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT: What is being done to inform the public about the particulars of the Seattle Plan? A list of choices should be provided to every student/parent; Seattle Schools administration staff should be made available to aid community groups.

TIMING: The period of time for community reaction to the desegregation plan should be extended.

COSTS: More meaningful categories are needed for cost allocations; a distinction between start-up and continuing costs should be made.

FUNDING: A more precise and realistic determination of potential local, state and federal funding sources should be made --- along with a schedule of prioritized cuts if these amounts are not forthcoming.

FEEDER PATTERNS: Equity of movement of students should be reviewed; boundary realignments should be considered to more fully take into account racial impacts.

The Municipal League has commended the Seattle School Board, school administration, and the citizens of Seattle for their effort and cooperation resulting in the desegregation of Seattle schools without a court order.

There has been extensive and meaningful citizen participation in the District's planning process; the possibility for this crucial community involvement and support would have been reduced if the community had been polarized by a court battle. The School Board listened to the public and kept the public informed. It was a good move; support for the concepts set forth in the Board's resolution for desegregation increased as citizens became more aware of the details of the plan.

Continuing community involvement is of utmost importance. The separate school communities, those who know their school best, must be actively involved in the planning and implementation of the desegregation strategies and educational programs included in the plan. The League encourages everyone to take advantage of the community involvement process designed into the plans and work to create the strategies most appropriate for their schools in order to achieve the highest quality of education.

Implementation of the desegregation plan will be the most difficult job of all. Flexibility in this process is essential. The Municipal League will continue to work with school officials and other community groups to help in developing an implementation plan that will desegregate Seattle schools in a fair and workable manner.

OCR COMPLAINT

In April of 1977 the NAACP filed a complaint of Civil Rights Violation against the Seattle Public Schools charging that Seattle Schools all illegally segregated.

STATEMENT OF CLAIM

Complainant alleges that there is an imbalance of races among the student populations of the schools in the elementary and secondary school system of Seattle. Respondent admits that the Seattle schools are de facto segregated, and that the present racial and national origin imbalance has been caused or contributed to by the actions or failure to act of the respondent School Board. Said conduct consists of, but is not limited to, the following factors preventing quality integrated education:

a. Failure to realign boundaries of elementary and secondary schools when to do so would minimize racial isolation.

b. Building and establishment of new schools in areas overcrowded with white students, rather than to transfer excess white student population to under-utilized classrooms in schools with a high percentage of black and other minority pupil population.

c. Repair and renovation of old schools and/or the use of portable classrooms in areas containing large majority of student population of one race rather than to relieve racial isolation by student transfer or boundary realignment.

d. Failure and refusal to implement previous plans designed to relieve racial imbalance.

e. Assignment of faculty and support staff by race, a policy specifically and intently adopted by the respondent.

f. Providing facilities and resources to black children and children of other minority races that are unequal and inferior.

g. Maintaining transfer policies allowing white students to transfer out of schools that are minority impacted.

h. Acknowledging and admitting that racial imbalance in Seattle Public Schools is increasing, while pursuing voluntary transfer policies, which have a history of failure whenever and wherever used.

i. By admittedly adopting a strategy of delay, obstruction and indefiniteness, awaiting the hope for decision of the United States Supreme Court and/or a change of policy of the United States Attorney General strictly prescribing the use of busing as a tool to eliminate or reduce racial segregation in public schools.

In a statement before the School Board on December 5, 1977, Lace Steele, president of the Seattle NAACP, indicated the NAACP's intention of playing a critical observer's role during the implementation phase of the Seattle Plan. However, the Seattle NAACP would not endorse any desegregation plan, maintaining that the true test of a plan is in its implementation. The Seattle NAACP has national authorization to file a law suit against Seattle Public Schools if the local board feels such action is necessary.

STUDENT ACTION FORCE ON EDUCATION : NEWSLETTER, VOLUME I, December 13, 1977

read by Hedy Valdez, junior at
FRANKLIN HIGH SCHOOL to the School
Board and over 500 people at a
public hearing at the Seattle
Center on December 5, 1977.

S.A.F.E., the Student Action Force on Education, is a group of Black, White and Asian students from Seattle high schools who are actively concerned about and working for desegregation, integration, students' rights, and equal education for everyone.

We are making this statement not only to get our position on the record, but also to try to influence other people, especially students, to discuss this plan among themselves and support it along with us.

We took a lot of time in making this enormous decision. We made up some questions to help us decide which desegregation plan we should support. From these questions, we decided that three issues were important to us : certainty, choice and fairness. Since no plan provided them equally, we had to decide which issues were most important to us. We agreed that certainty and fairness were most important. Next we argued over which strategy -- fixed assignments with options available, or voluntary choice with mandatory backup -- was best for Seattle students. We finally came to a consensus. Since we had decided that certainty and fairness were essential, we realized that the Seattle Plan, which makes fixed assignments with options available, was the best solution.

The Seattle Plan would provide certainty in that students would know what schools they would be assigned to each year. Also it would be fair because minority and white students would share equally in the benefits and inconveniences of changing schools. It would also provide optional choices for students who had special interests.

We have reservations about the option part of the plan, though. We feel the magnet programs should be flexible enough to admit students who want to take a portion of the program but not the whole program. This would make the magnets more attractive to a wider variety of students. We also want the curriculum in desegregated schools to appeal to all sectors of our society.

We strongly believe that with the support of the students this Seattle Desegregation Plan will integrate and provide equal education for all. We will try to gain support for the plan through the city-wide student newsletter that we are writing.

Seattle Council of Parent-Teacher-Student Associations

Room 9, Oak Lake School
Seattle, Washington 98133

10040 Aurora Avenue North
Phone 522-4252

Statement from Seattle Council PTSA Executive Committee:

There is strong indication, based on studies of the desegregation process in other parts of the country, that one of the most important, and indeed essential, factors in the peaceful and successful implementation of a plan (whether court-ordered or School Board mandated) was the open and active support of community groups and leaders. Because the Executive Committee Seattle Council PTSA also feels this to be a vital factor, we are encouraging our membership to support the implementation of the Seattle Plan. To that end, we have developed a document outlining Seattle Council PTSA's participation in the implementation process ... This does not mean that as a group and/or individuals Seattle Council is in complete agreement with all aspects of the plan. However, after much consideration and study, it is the judgment of the Executive Committee that once the School Board has adopted a plan, it would be counter-productive and detrimental to the educational process and all children for Seattle Council PTSA to deny support of the District, particularly at this very important time in the process. It is also the intent of the membership of Seattle Council PTSA to continue to serve as conscientious and critical monitors during all stages of implementation of the desegregation process in Seattle Public Schools.

SEATTLE COUNCIL PTSA CURRENTLY HAS NO OFFICIAL POSITION ON THE SEATTLE PLAN. THE ABOVE STATEMENT WAS PASSED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, AND IS SCHEDULED TO BE VOTED ON AT THE FEBRUARY 14, 1978 MEETING OF THE SEATTLE COUNCIL PTSA.

S T A

Reprinted from The Advocate, the Newsletter of the Seattle Teachers' Association; January 15, 1978

LETTER TO THE SEATTLE SCHOOL BOARD

Dear Mr. Olson:

The Seattle Teachers Association supports the Seattle Plan, the School Board's proposal to begin a comprehensive desegregation program during 1978-1979. We do not believe the Plan is perfect. Any plan that must take into account so many variables cannot be. But we do believe the Plan is workable and it has some exciting instructional possibilities. Those possibilities could place our schools on the road toward academic excellence if the instructional staff, the teachers and the paraprofessionals are asked to develop instructional alternatives that are possible in the new primary and intermediate schools.

The teachers and the paraprofessionals should meet before school ends in June. They need to help plan. They must examine themselves and their new students. And they need to decide what training they need.

The training may not necessarily be in human relations. It is very important to realize that human relations training has become a catch-all for a variety of agendas that are not always helpful to those of us who want practical help working with students from a variety of cultural backgrounds.

Let each school's teachers and paraprofessionals collectively decide what training they need.

Finally, let them decide what books, equipment, furniture and supplies they must have as well. You will not be disappointed in their decisions if you really want to implement the decision you will make on December 14, 1977.

Quality is the Seattle Teachers' Association's educational priority. We will support the School Board as long as it is making positive steps toward quality integrated education.

We believe this plan is a positive approach to a difficult problem. If we and the parents and concerned citizens of Seattle continue to work together, we will solve the problem and keep control of our schools. We may also find ourselves on the road to an educational renaissance in this beautiful city.

We want to be a part of that renaissance.

We want to make it happen.

Sincerely,

PETE NEUSCHWANDER

President

88

TO: Members of the Seattle School Board & Dr. David Moberly, Superintendent

"THE SEATTLE PLAN TO ELIMINATE RACIAL IMBALANCE"
School Board Public Hearing
Monday - December 5, 1977

I'm here tonight to share some thoughts regarding the proposed desegregation plan. In the past the Seattle Urban League has demonstrated its commitment to desegregation. We will continue to demonstrate that commitment by working closely with you during this present desegregation process.

This past March, I presented to you our analysis of the "Magnet Program", in that statement I expressed to you what we at the Urban League feel the role of the school system should be:

1) Preparing students for adult life and citizenship roles,
2) Enriching the on-going life of the students
3) Promoting the ideals of democracy through equalization of educational opportunity.

In reviewing the proposed plan this past weekend, I must state that I am pleased with the direction of this plan. The plan is forwarding in a direction that will allow the Seattle School system to effectively execute the above mentioned role.

I question the specific impact which may result with some of the suggested pairs, and status of kindergarten age students, I will forward those specific concerns to Dr. Moberly. Overall I feel this plan has made an viable attempt to be fair and the Seattle Urban League will continue to work with you to make sure the plan is fair.

The job facing you between now and December 14, 1977, is not an easy one. Over the past several months there have been numerous community meetings, to gain feedback on this issue from the public, and again tonight we have gathered to gain more feedback. There are many diversed opinions being expressed;

- Many want to desegregate, but only voluntarily
- Many want to desegregate, but with fixed assignment
- Many do not want to desegregate at all

The job, by any means is not as easy one, but a necessary one all the same. You must choose a plan NOT based on:

- Who will leave the city; or
- What is best for my district alone

But what you must base your decision on is, what is best for the 59,000 children attending school in Seattle. What plan will best afford all of these children with the opportunity to obtain a quality integrated education.

Many views have been expressed from those residing in the far Northeast sector of the city who maintain they have quality education, but I maintain that education at any level in a segregated context, is not quality education.

In June the School Board made an unequivocal commitment to desegregate. I personally expect that commitment to be carried out to its fullest measure. I, as a parent and as Director of the Seattle Urban League, could not expect anything less.

TRANSFER PARENT STATEMENT

The VRT and magnet parents reaffirm our belief that the best desegregation plan begins with voluntary choice of programs. We feel we are supported in this view by a clear majority of Seattle citizens, as evidenced by the input at the community meetings and recent polls. However, we do offer here a set of recommendations for any mandatory-first plan being considered by the Seattle School Board. We believe these recommendations would make any such plan more viable.

A. We agree with the present plan that all students attending VRT and Magnet programs in their proposed zones should be grandfathered into those programs. We feel that the commitment should also be kept to students in present VRT/Magnet programs who are attending programs outside their proposed zone. These students should be grandfathered into their present programs until the student reaches the highest level in his/her grade configuration*, or until a like option is developed in the child's zone.

B. During the next two years, all elementary options** should be developed in each zone, in mirrored form (one for majority; one for minority students). These options should be developed subject to the following conditions.

1. There should be enough room in each option for all the students in that zone who wish to attend it, with the following priorities for space:

   a. First, students in the zone who are presently attending that option and students presently attending options outside their zone (until the end of their present school's grade configuration*).

   b. Students in paired schools or other mandatory desegregation programs.

   c. Any other student in the zone.

2. Transportation should be provided for all the students mentioned above, including those being grandfathered in from other zones.

3. Elementary options should have the same operating costs as regular programs. Start-up costs for options (which vary from program to program) should be defined and presented to the Board for approval.

4. Elementary options should follow District guidelines for desegrated schools. These options should be placed in schools so as to encourage the desegregation of the option (i.e., programs which receive white students should be placed in schools with large enough minority populations to make integration of the program probable, and vice versa).

5. There should be a definite commitment on the part of the School Board and the District staff to continue these programs once they are begun, both for the sake of the children in the programs and so as not to waste the start-up costs.

6. Continuation of elementary options should be provided within each zone, at middle and high school levels. The continuing option programs would offer continuity, and should have space to accommodate all interested students enrolled in those elementary options in that zone.

7. In the development and designation of options, participation of building staff and communities within each zone should be encouraged.

We are asking the Board to honor its commitment to all children in VRT and Magnet Programs by grandfathering them into and transporting them to their current programs until they reach the highest level in that grade configuration.* This includes those students who just happened to transfer to a school outside their zone--a zone which did not exist when they made their commitments to the District's previous desegregation plans.

* If a child is in a pair or triad, the highest grade level in that cluster.

** Horizon, open-concept, multi-arts, science-math, alternative, etc.

Teachers' Manual

CURRICULUM GUIDE FOR

Class Session on

SLIDE SHOW

GOAL: To provide a general overview of the dynamics surrounding desegregation efforts in Seattle and the role the church community can play in efforts to end public school segregation here.

RESOURCE MATERIAL for this session is a 25-minute slide show produced by Ms. Saye Sutton and the Rev. David Bloom. A set of slides and a cassette tape can be obtained from Ann Siqueland or Nancy Carlin by calling the Church Council, 525-1213. A discussion guide* to be used with the slide show can be picked up at the same time.

MATERIALS: 1) a carousel slide projector, 2) a cassette tape recorder, 3) the set of slides and tape, 4) a screen, and 5) the discussion guide. If you or your congregation do not own a carousel slide projector or cassette tape recorder, one can be rented from Photo & Sound Company, 1205 N. 45th, 632-8461 or borrowed from another congregation or individual.

FORMAT: It is suggested that the discussion leader preview the slide show before using it in class to become familiar with the content as well as the slide sequencing.

If you wish to provide class members with copies of the discussion guide, it will be necessary to arrange for its reproduction. An evaluation form accompanying the discussion guide is for your use to comment on the effectiveness of the slide show. We would appreciate having it returned with the slides, tape and study guide.

No additional resource material or resource people are needed for this session.

NOTE: The slide show can also be used as an introduction to a series of class sessions on desegregation, or as the beginning of an evening forum on the subject. It would also serve effectively as a program for a women's group or couples' group meeting.

* The discussion guide can be found on the reverse side of this sheet.

DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR DESEGREGATION SLIDE SHOW

The Desegregation Project Staff has assembled a number of questions based on the slide show "Desegregation : East and West" which are meant to help stimulate discussion around desegregation of the Seattle Public Schools. In addition, leaders should feel free to deal with other concerns of group members.

1. Why is the task of desegregating the public schools still with us in Seattle?

2. How can we desegregate the public schools and at the same time protect the identity of racial and ethnic minorities?

3. What are the advantages of desegregating the schools without a court order? The disadvantages?

4. What sort of role can or should the Church community take in supporting the desegregation of the public schools?

5. Elaborate on (or add) the concerns that you feel are important to consider when undertaking the desegregation of the schools.

6. Discuss the differences between voluntary and involuntary desegregation plans, and what advantages and/or disadvantages that both hold for Seattle.

Teachers' Manual

CURRICULUM GUIDE FOR

Class Session on

DESEGREGATION THEOLOGY

GOAL: To listen to what the Spirit of God is saying. As people of God, we must grapple with our responsibilities in the world we live in and attempt to make decisions about what we are going to do and say in relation to issues which confront our everyday lives. Typically we look to scripture for guidance. It has also been traditional for the people of God to meet together and discuss their insights and perceptions of God's will in their lives. Certainly this is important today as the people living in the greater Seattle area confront the need to desegregate our public school system. Desegregation is not only a historical, legal and philosophical issue; for church people, it must also (and primarily) be a theological issue.

RESOURCE MATERIAL for this session is a 25-minute tape of a theological discussion held by an ecumenical, multi-racial group of Seattle area clergy men and women. The discussion was an effort to look at scripture and our experience of God as these relate to desegregatio justice and liberation. The subject of the Church Council of Greater Seattle's possible participation in a law suit to force desegregation, should that ever be necessary, was also discussed. A discussion guide* and listening guide accompany the tape. All are available by calling Ann Siqueland or Nancy Carlin at the Church Council, 525-1213.

FORMAT: The discussion leader should preview the tape prior to using it in class to become familiar with its content and identify specific sections which may be most helpful to class members.

A cassette tape recorder will be needed for this session and the discussion leader may wish to reproduce the discussion guide and listening guide for class members.

The session begins with playing the tape while members of the class take notes or write questions on their listening guide. The tape may be stopped at any time for class members to ask questions or for a discussion to take place.

After the tape has been played, the questions on the discussion guide can be used to encourage dialogue on the subject. If the class is large, it may be helpful to divide the class into groups of about eight people in order that everyone has an opportunity to express their opinions.

The Pastor or Rabbi of the congregation may wish to lead the class discussion either with the tape or alone.

*The discussion guide can be found on the reverse side of this page.

DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR THEOLOGICAL TAPE

The Desegregation Project Staff has assembled a number of questions based on a discussion of school desegregation from a theological perspective by Seattle area clergy. These are meant to help stimulate discussion of the desegregation of Seattle Public Schools. In addition, leaders should feel free to deal with other concerns of group members.

1. What sort of role can or should the Church community assume in the process of school desegregation? What are the advantages and disadvantages of the Church Council's participation in litigation against the School District over desegregation?

2. How can we understand pluralism in the context of our religious identities, and what does that mean to us in terms of school desegregation?

3. Is school desegregation a religious issue? Is it a moral issue? If not, why not? If so, why?

4. How can the Church support individual members of congregations in sorting out the issues of desegregation?

5. If desegregation is a moral issue, and if it as such, has been proper for years, why haven't we as religious people done anything about it?

Teachers' Manual

CURRICULUM GUIDE FOR

Class Session on

WHAT IS BEING PLANNED FOR SEATTLE?

GOAL: To acquaint class members with the present plan to desegregate Seattle Public Schools.

In June 1977, the Seattle School Board passed two resolutions, defining "racial imbalance" (i.e., segregation) and setting a time-table to desegregate Seattle Public Schools. On the 14th of December, the Board adopted The Seattle Plan for the Elimination of Racial Imbalance. By implementing this Plan during the upcoming school years, 1978-79 and 1979-80, Seattle will become the first major city in the nation to desegregate its schools without a court order. The plan relies on fixed-assignment, which changes the grade configuration in paired and triaded schools. In addition, specific programmatic options and Magnet Programs will be offered to all students in the city. The Plan is thereby intended, not only to end segregation, but to upgrade the quality of education in the city.

School age children will probably benefit most from this desegregation effort, but to desegregate successfully, the entire Seattle community will need to be involved. We all share the responsibility for our public schools.

Numerous decisions remain to be made, including programmatic content in specific schools.

This class session is designed to inform congregational members with the details of the Seattle Plan, and to discuss, to some extent, the decision-making process which led to its development.

Clearly, not everyone agrees with the Seattle Plan; the class session is not intended as a "sales job", but rather as an opportunity for class members to become informed about the plan.

RESOURCE MATERIAL : is on the following buff-colored pages. In addition, copies of the Seattle Plan can be obtained from the School District's Desegregation Office by calling 587-5175; a speaker from the District can be arranged by calling the same number. Material contained in this book includes:

1) School Board Resolutions 77-8, 77-9, and 77-28.

2) The Time Line for Desegregation Implementation

FORMAT : The School District has established a Speaker's Bureau; Gwen Jarre .c, 587-354 can provide a speaker to discuss the Plan. Copies of the Plan, obtained from the District, can be distributed to class members a week ahead of this class session for review.

SEATTLE SCHOOL BOARD DESEGREGATION RESOLUTIONS
June 1977

RESOLUTION 1977-8

DEFINITION OF RACIAL IMBALANCE AND 1978-79 and 1979-80 PERCENTAGE GOALS RESULTING IN THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL IMBALANCE

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors of Seattle School District No. 1 has found that the best interests of the children of Seattle School District No. 1 will be served by providing all school children with the opportunity for a quality multiracial education; and

WHEREAS, The Seattle School District has for a number of years worked to improve racial balance in the schools and to provide a multiracial balance in the schools and to provide the opportunity of a multiracial educational environment for all children during their educational careers; and

WHEREAS, The Board of Directors affirms its policy to work toward a multiracial educational system by whatever just, reasonable, and educationally sound means are available to it; and

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors is cognizant and appreciative of the strong and united community support for the above described efforts; now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED THAT:

1. The Seattle School District No. 1 will eliminate racial imbalance in Seattle Public Schools by the beginning of the 1979-80 school year. Any school exceptions, necessitated by unique program requirements, will only be for educationally sound reasons. These will be documented and approved by the Superintendent on a case-by-case basis, and submitted to the Board for ratification.

2. Racial imbalance is defined as the situation that exists when the combined minority student enrollment in a school exceeds the District-wide combined minority average by 20 percentage points, provided that the single minority enrollment (as defined by current federal categories) of no school will exceed 50 percent of the student body.

3. Racial imbalance will be eliminated by the use of educationally sound strategies.

4. The elimination of racial imbalance will be planned and implemented so that at least one-half of the elimination occurs in the 1978-79 school year. During the 1978-79 school year, this goal will be achieved by eliminating racial imbalance in at least 50 percent of those schools identified as racially imbalanced; or by reducing racial imbalance by one-half in all schools identified as racially imbalanced; or by a combination of these measures.

5. The commitment and definition contained herein is controlling over other commitments and/or definitions which might be construed as inconsistent with this Resolution.

****

RESOLUTION 1977-9

PLANNING FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL IMBALANCE

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors of Seattle School District No. 1 has, in Resolution 1977-8, resolved to eliminate racial imbalance in Seattle Public Schools by the beginning of the 1979-80 school year; and

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors is committed to achieving this goal by educationally sound strategies; and

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors recognizes that the development and implementation of methods that are in the best interests of children within the District require thorough and adequate planning; and

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors believes that the development of sound and responsible plans will increase community support of the District's efforts; now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED:

1. The Seattle School District administration is directed to develop educationally sound plans to be used to eliminate racial imbalance in Seattle Public Schools by the beginning of the 1979-80 school year. The Magnet School Program, the Voluntary Racial Transfer Program. as well as other District-developed desegregation programs, will continue as major components of these strategies. Additional strategies, e.g., facility closures, boundary realignments, and pairing, clustering, or zoning, are to be used as necessary to achieve this goal upon Board approval.

2. A structure and timetable for developing these plans be brought to the Board for its adoption during July, 1977.

3. This structure and timetable should at least include the following considerations an estimate of the personnel and financial resources needed to plan educationally sound strategies; the possibility of interagency cooperation in planning, either through direct involvement or as expert resources; citizen and community involvement in the planning process; and a continuing public information process.

4. The plans to eliminate racial imbalance be comprehensive and system-wide, and include a recommendation regarding integrating the current middle school desegregation program into them.

5. In developing the strategies to be used to eliminate racial imbalance, the mandatory strategy of random reassignment by computer is not to be used in isolation from educationally sound strategies. All other strategies are appropriate for consideration.

6. The plans indicate the extent to which racial imbalance will be eliminated by the various strategies and, if necessary, which and when supplemental actions will be used to achieve these goals.

7. The plans reflect the unique aspects of the Seattle School District, including the multiracial and multicultural composition of schools.

8. The plans developed be presented to the Board no later than October 1, 1977, so that there may be public hearings prior to final Board action.

9. The Board be provided a progress report on planning activities at least on a monthly basis which is to include identification of potential problem areas.

10. By December 15, 1977, the Board will select the comprehensive plan containing specific strategies and implementation timetable to be used to eliminate racial imbalance by the beginning of the 1979-80 school year.

RESOLUTION NO. 1977-28

ADOPTION OF COMPREHENSIVE PLAN INCLUDING SPECIFIC STRATEGIES FOR ELIMINATION OF RACIAL IMBALANCE

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors of Seattle School District No. 1 has determined that the best interests of the students of Seattle School District No. 1 will be served by providing all students with the opportunity for a quality education in a multiracial setting; and

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors has further determined that it is in the best educational interests of the students of the District to eliminate racial imbalance (as defined in Resolution 1977-8) in District schools so as to better prepare students to live in a pluralistic society; and

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors specified in Resolution 1977-9 that it would select a comprehensive plan containing specific strategies and implementation timetable to be used to eliminate racial imbalance by the beginning of the 1979-80 school year; and

WHEREAS, extensive citizen and community involvement in the District's planning process since the passage of Resolutions 1977-8 and 1977-9 has been instrumental in development of strategies for elimination of racial imbalance; and

WHEREAS, it is the determination of the Board of Directors that equitable, certain, and educationally-sound elimination of racial imbalance may best be accomplished through a combination of educational options for students and parents and redesigned attendance areas; and

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors has as its goal the desegregation and integration of the Seattle School District through the implementation of comprehensive plans including encouraging integrated neighborhoods in District planning activities, facilities and program decisions; and

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors of Seattle School District No. 1 desires that the desegregation plan be developed by and for the citizens of Seattle and not in a federal court or agency of the federal government; now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED THAT:

1. Beginning in school year 1978-79, the Seattle School District will be comprised of three zones. Zone 1 will be the Franklin, Ingraham and Ballard geographic attendance areas. Zone II

will be the Hale, Roosevelt, Lincoln and Garfield geographic attendance areas. Zone III will be the West Seattle, Cleveland, Rainier Beach and Chief Sealth geographic attendance areas. The Queen Anne attendance area will serve as a transition area between Zones I and III.

2. In each Zone, certain elementary schools will be linked in groups of two (pairs) or three (triads), which groups will have combined majority and minority student populations in proportions not racially imbalanced. Most elementary schools which are currently racially imbalanced will be included within pairs or triads. The elementary schools among which pairs and triads for 1978-79 will be selected are:

ZONE I	ZONE II	ZONE III
Briarcliff	Bryant	Arbor Heights
Brighton	Colman	Beacon Hill
Broadview	Day	Dearborn Park
Columbia	Decatur	Dunlay
Graham Hill	Gatzert	Fairmount Park
Hawthorne	Green Lake	Fauntleroy
Hay	King	Genesee Hill
Muir	Leschi	Highland Park
North Beach	Lowell	High Point
Northgate	McDonald	Hughes
Oak Lake	McGilvra	Lafayette
W. Queen Anne	Minor	Magnolia
W. Woodland	Montlake	Maple
Whittier	Ravenna	Rainier View
Whitworth	Seward	Roxhill
	Stevens	Schmitz Park
	University Hts.	Van Asselt
	View Ridge	Wing Luke
	Wedgwood	

In addition, other schools will be added to the above list as necessary.

3. By no later than the beginning of the 1979-80 school year other elementary schools which are close to being racially balanced will undergo boundary changes, be converted to racially balanced magnet schools, or experience sufficient voluntary student movement to assure that they are not racially imbalanced.

4. Elementary schools will feed junior high and middle schools within their Zones, and junior high and middle schools will feed high schools within their Zones, according to patterns which will eliminate racial imbalance in the secondary schools as students progress in grade level. For 1978-79, only students changing from elementary schools to junior high or middle schools, or changing from junior high or middle schools to high schools, will follow newly-established feeder patterns.

5. An integral feature of the overall program for elimination of racial imbalance will be the availability of program options for students affected by these strategies, provided that selection of options does not contribute to racial imbalance. Program options within schools, magnet programs within pairs/triads, all-zone magnets, all-city magnets, alternative schools, and special programs will be among the alternatives available to students affected by these strategies. To the extent possible the same options will be available to students not affected by these strategies.

6. For the 1978-79 school year, kindergarten students will not be required to participate in the attendance redesignation plan.

7. The Board and Administration will continue to seek the involvement and counsel of parents, staff, students, and interested citizens.

Adopted this _____ day of December, 1977

Don Olson, President	Suzanne Hittman, Member
Patt Sutton, Vice President	Dorothy Hollingsworth
Richard Alexander, Member	Ellen Roe, Member
Cheryl Bleakney, Member	ATTEST: David L. Moberly, Secretary Board of Directors Seattle School District No. 1 King County, Washington

V. PROPOSED PRELIMINARY IMPLEMENTATION TIMELINE

		COMPLETION
A.	**ADOPTION OF DESEGREGATION PLAN** Board adopts basic Desegregation Plan	December 1977
B.	**PRE-IMPLEMENTATION PLANNING** Administrative units develop key procedures and processes necessary to implement Desegregation Plan by September, 1978, in areas of transportation, program and curriculum development, staffing, facilities, student selection and transfer, instructional materials and equipment, staff development and training, student, staff, and parent orientation, public information, administrative assignment and management, Special Education programs, Bilingual programs, compensatory programs, budget, assessment and evaluation, school climate, negotiations, legal, and data processing.	March 1978
C.	**DELINEATION OF GRADE RECONFIGURATIONS** Communities, principals, and staff involved in pairs and triads propose alternate grade reconfigurations to administration.	January 1978
D.	**APPROVAL OF BUDGET FOR PHASE I** Budget for Phase I implementation (March to August 30, 1978) activities is approved.	March 1978
E.	**LOCATION OF AUXILLARY PROGRAMS** Auxillary programs and services such as bilingual, special education, alternative and compensatory programs is determined.	March 1978
F.	**NOTIFICATION OF STUDENT ASSIGNMENT** All students whose assignments are changed by the Desegregation Plan are notified	April 1978
G.	**APPLICATIONS FOR VOLUNTARY OPTIONS** Students select or reaffirm options such as, Magnet Schools, VRT programs, alternative schools, and other program transfers.	April 1978
H.	**APPOINTMENT OF ADMINISTRATORS** Selection and assignment of administrators and program managers for schools directly involved in desegregation announced.	May 1978
I.	**INITIATION OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT, TRAINING, AND ORIENTATION ACTIVITIES** Staffs in schools directly affected by Desegregation Plan are notified of assignment and begin staff development, training, and orientation activities.	May 1978

J. NOTIFICATION OF STUDENT PLACEMENT — May 1978

Students and parents are notified of placement in Magnet Schools, Alternative programs, and program options.

K. ESTABLISHMENT OF TRANSPORTATION ROUTES — July 1978

Transportation routes are established and parents and students are notified

L. INITIATION OF PRE-SCHOOL ORIENTATION ACTIVITIES — September 1978

All staffs directly involved in Desegregation Plan receive pre-school orientation.

M. OPENING OF SCHOOL — September 1978

Desegregation Plan for 1978-79 is initiated by start of school.

N. PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT AND READJUSTMENT — October 1978

Preliminary assessment is made of student assignments, program implementation, and staffing, and readjustments are made.

O. PRELIMINARY PLANNING FOR 1979-80 — December 1978

Preliminary planning begins for 1979-80 school year and second year desegregation plan is proposed to Board.

P. PROGRAM ASSESSMENT AND EVALUATION — December 1978

Preliminary effectiveness of 1978-79 Desegregation Plan is determined.

Teachers' Manual

CURRICULUM GUIDE FOR

Class Session on

PLURALISM

GOAL: To help class members affirm the value of the racial and the cultural differences of people in the Seattle community.

RESOURCE MATERIAL: (color-coded green following) includes a definition of Pluralism, a discussion of the "melting pot", some class discussion models, and a series of subjective experiences of minority students in school.

FORMAT: Select from the resource material three or four items to be used in the class session. Ask one class member to read the first selection. Discuss. Ask another person to read another selection. Discuss, etc. It will be necessary to read through all the material to decide what would be most helpful to your group.

The concept of cultural pluralism, as opposed to the melting pot concept of American society, confirms the value and integrity of minority group people as well as white people. When people of color feel that they are asked to "melt" into a common American white culture, they find that this is neither possible nor desirable. It is not possible because skin color continues to play a role in determining social, economic, educational and employment possibilities in our society. "Melting" into a common white culture is not desirable for minority group people because - to the extent that they do this - they lose the beauty and the individuality of their own culture.

The different cultures of Black, Asian Americans, Chicanos and Native Americans all need to be seen as valuable and unique. Just as White Americans value their European heritage and culture, Black Americans, Asian Americans, Chicanos and Native Americans value their "roots".

Cultural differences do not have to imply a "better than" or "worse than" comparison.

Questions which may also be used for discussion in the class:

1. Contrast cultural pluralism and the "melting pot" as ways we look at society.

2. How will cultural pluralism affect an approach to school desegregation?

NOTE: The subject of bi-lingual education is not covered in the resource material, but plays a major role in a pluralistic approach to education. Mr. Juan Juarez, listed as a Resource Person at the back of the book, can be invited to speak on this subject.

A PLURALISTIC APPROACH TO PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION

Prepared by Paul M. Kuroiwa

The Melting Pot

When The Melting Pot, a play written by the English Jewish author Israel Zangwill, was staged in New York City in 1908, it became an overwhelming success. The great ambition of the play's composer-protagonist, David Quixano, was to create an American aymphony that would personify his deep conviction that his adopted land was a nation in which all ethnic differences would amalgamate and a novel man would emerge from this new ethnic synthesis. The play, considered an inferior one by drama critics, was eagerly embraced by Americans because it embodied an ideology that was pervasive in the United States at the turn of the century.

However, even when the play was first performed, there were salient indications, even if Americans preferred to ignore them, that ethnic communities and cultures were deeply interwove into the American social fabric and that the theme portrayed in Zangwill's play did not accurately reflect the status of ethnicity in America. The protagonist completes his symphony by the play's end. "Individuals, in very considerable numbers to be sure, broke out of their mold, but the groups remained. The experience of Zangwill's hero and heroine was not general. The point about the melting pot was that it did not happen." Despite the blatant inconsistenci between the play's theme and American social reality, Americans held tenaciously to the idea that ethnic cultures would vanish in the United States.

However, as reality boldly confronted the melting pot ideology, many Americans began to embrace it less enthusiastically. It is significant that later in his life, Zangwill was very much the antithesis of the melting pot prototype. He was a Zionist. He gave more and more of his energy to this cause as time passed, and retreated from his earlier position on racial and religious mixture.

Definition of Cultural Pluralism

> ... a state of equal co-existence in a mutually supportive relationship within the boundaries of one nation of people of diverse cultures with significantly different patterns of belief and behavior and in many cases with different languages. To achieve cultural pluralism, each person must be aware of and secure in his own identity, and be willing to extend to others the same respect and rights that he expects to enjoy himself.
>
> National Coalition for Cultural Pluralism
> Chicago, 1971

The concept of cultural pluralism must include basic notions of mutuality, equal opportunity for all people, respect for human dignity and people sharing from and in control of the significant environmental and psychological forces impinging on them.

"Mutually supportive relations" must not be confused with tolerance. To confuse tolerance and "mutually supportive relationships" is patronizing. Toleration of another person diminishes that individual, while mutual support enhances all who participate in a common effort. To regard human dignity as a grant bestowed by "me" on "you" or "you" on "me" is to miss the point completely.

Bruce Gaarder. former program officer for the U.S. Office of Education, distinguishes cultural pluralism from social justice in order to avoid a confused discussion. Gaarder's position delineates social justice as achievable within a framework of social and cultural assimilation to the dominant majority culture. Generally, he believes, white minorities have achieved social justice in our society. Thus, social justice means equal treatment, equal opportunities, and a freedom from discrimination. On the other hand, cultural pluralism implies social justice, plus the right not to assimilate.

Social justice, then, takes an assimilative share of the pie stance. But cultural pluralism calls unavoidably for a pluralistic view point; it negates assimilation and maintains that there is more than one legitimate way of being human without paying the dues of second-class citizenship.

Of course, to function in a pluralistic relationship, one culture must have some degree of unity with others. At the same time, however, each group needs to define its own cultural base and develop a pervasive sense of cultural identity.

Rationale

It takes time for ideas to grow and bear fruit. Until recently, it was considered heretical to dare question the universally accepted "melting pot" philosophy of American Education, which promised to take through its golden school doors "the tired, the poor, the huddled masses yearning to be free" and to transform them into idealized Americans.

However today, more and more people are realizing the role of education as a vital factor in American life, particularly in American urban life. The issue of cultural pluralism is intertwined with economic, political and social problems. We must raise the issue of cultural pluralism in the schools because it is difficult to deal with the problems of urban society without challenging our orevailing mono-cultural educational philosophy. The schools have not helped us deal with the reality of cultural pluralism in American life, because they have been committed to the myth of the melting pot.

When I refer to urban education, I don't mean just the schools. I mean the whole context of student lives. The school is not independent of their lives. What happens at home, what happens in their neighborhood, affects what and how the student learns and what happens in the schools, what they learn, in return should affect the quality of their lives at home and in the neighborhood.

We can prepare ourselves, as "Roots" so poignantly stated, by getting in touch with our own stories. American students don't know how to share the multi-ethnic, multi-racial diversity that's theirs to share. Students must be put in touch with their own stories and experiences. Erik Erikson has forcefully demonstrated that the identity of the child, and the adult is a sum of all the images, ideas and forces which make a person feel more like what he/she has come to consider his/her historical self. I believe the challenge in American life is going to rely very heavily on the ability of American education to help students deal with the identity question.

Ethnicity is not just a concept; it is a reality. Ethnicity is the most persistent factor in the cultural development of the human race. In Dr. Richard Kolm's words, "ethnicity is the cultural bond which holds individuals together in groups." It is the integration of the individual personality with social and cultural patterns of the group within which the individual developed. To be ethnic is to understand oneself, to be integrated and in touch with one's roots. The person who understands him/herself and respects his/her own background is freer to relate to others of different backgrounds. When that happens, students will learn how to function effectively within and across various cultures, and to view the world beyond their own cultural and ethnic perspectives.

Schools are the transmitters of cultural values and there is a pressing need to legitimatiz cultural pluralism in Seattle. The school must facilitate the student's relationship to his/her family, parents and grandparents. The student's story must be made legitimate in order for that student to share and relate to other students comfortably. The student has to know and respect the resources in his/her community and neighborhood.

This represents a b.g challenge, because to give up one's identity with one's group and that group's values and goals results in alienation and rejection. Two hundred years has not been enough time for America to develop a single homogeneous culture. I doubt that such a development is even a real possibility. It has its roots in the freedom of the person. To bar the way of cultural development is to bar the way of personal freedom. And freedom is one of the foundations of American society. The imposition of the myth of the melting po has been a denial of the basic freedom guaranteed all Americans.

Conclusion

John Dewey told us several decades ago that education has a creative function to play in shaping of individuals, and through them in the shaping of a culture. These were and are prophetic words, but unfortunately too few educators have the courage to take them fully into account.

What is needed is an education system that recognizes the fact that cultural pluralism must examine the cultural values of our society and of our schools. It must challenge the economic and political structure that predictably and systematically oppresses Blacks, Asian-Americans, Chicanos, Native Americans, the poor and those so patronizingly labeled disadvantaged. Such education will examine critically the problems of the governance, taxation, and equal opportunity for full access by all citizens to the economic, cultural and political life of society. Education must examine the system of education and the gamut of national priorities. Most importantly, it must challenge young minds to ask pertinent questions and seek viable solutions.

By Paul Kuroiwa

Cultural Pluralism is based on the following four premises

I. Ethnic diversity should be recognized and respected at individual, group and societal levels.

II. Ethnic diversity provides a basis for societal cohesiveness and survival.

III. Equality of opportunity should be afforded to members of all ethnic groups.

IV. Ethnic identification should be optional.

Multiethnic Education Guidelines

I. Cultural pluralism should permeate the total school environment.

II. School policies and procedures should foster positive multiethnic interactions and understandings among students, teachers and the supportive staff.

III. The staff should reflect the cultural pluralism within American society.

IV. The curriculum should reflect the ethnic learning styles of the students within the school community.

V. The multiethnic curriculum should provide students with continuous opportunities to develop a better sense of self.

VI. The curriculum should help students understand the totality of the experiences of American ethnic groups.

VII. The multiethnic curriculum should help students understand that there is always a conflict between ideals and realities in human societies.

VIII. The multiethnic curriculum should explore and clarify ethnic alternatives and options within American societies.

IX. The multiethnic curriculum should help students develop their decision-making abilities, social participation skills, and sense of political awareness as a necessary basis for effective citizenship in a culturally pluralistic society.

X. The multiethnic curriculum should help students develop the skills necessary for effective interpersonal and interethnic group relations.

XI. The curriculum should help students to view and interpret events, situations and conflict from diverse ethnic perspectives and points of view.

XII. The school should provide opportunities for students to participate in the aesthetic experience of various ethnic groups.

XIII. Schools should foster the study of ethnic group languages as legitimate communication systems.

XIV. The curriculum should make maximum use of local community resources.

Discussion Materials

Because ethnicity is important in the lives of many Americans, it is important that all members of our society develop a solidly based understanding of ethnicity and ethnic group Schools cannot afford to ignore their responsibility to contribute to the development of ethnic understanding. Only a well-conceived, sensitive, thorough, continuous program of multi-ethnic education can create the broadly based ethnic understanding so necessary for the future of our nation and world society.

List three examples to the following Rationale for Cultural Pluralism

I. Cultural pluralism is a societal reality that influences the lives of young people.

1.

2.

3.

II. In one way or another, individuals do acquire knowledge or beliefs, sometimes invalid about ethnic groups and ethnicity.

1.

2.

3.

III. Beliefs and knowledge about ethnic groups limit the perspectives of many and make a difference, often a negative difference, in the opportunities and options of members of ethnic groups.

1.

2.

3.

Discussion Stimulators

I. " When I look at my students, I see no differences
It makes no difference to me whether they are
black, white, red, green or purple. They are
all human beings and that's all that counts."

II. A race is like a man;
until it uses its own talent
takes pride in its own history
and loves its own memories
it can never fulfill itself completely.

-- John W. Vandercook

III. We wear the mask that grins and lies,
It hides our cheeks and shades our eyes -
This debt we pay to human guile;
With torn and bleeding hearts we smile,
And mouth with myriad subtleties.

Why should the world be otherwise,
In counting all our tears and sighs?
Nay, let them only see us, while
We wear the mask.

-- Paul Laurence Dunbar

Credits

1. Banks, James A., Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies, Boston, Allyn and Bacon Inc., 1975

2. Kolm, Richard, Ethnicity and Society, Rockville, Maryland; National Institute of Health, Center for Studies of Metropolitan Problems, 1971.

SOME MINORITY STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES OF SCHOOL

A BLACK CHILD

THE WORLD THROUGH MARK'S EYES

Cynthia W. Shepherd

I would like you to know my son Mark, who is now five years old. Although he has not yet attended kindergarten, he can both read and write, and can accurately identify colors and forms with an acuity beyond his years. He collects American flags, and pictures and ceramics of our national emblem, the eagle. He learned from somewhere on his own initiative the Pledge of Allegiance, which he recites with deep fervor. He only asked me the definitions of those difficult words: indivisible, liberty, justice. My precious, precocious Mark is very proud of his white, Anglo-Saxon heritage. But, he's black: a beautifully carved and polished piece of black American earth.

You may debate with me whether I should have taught him from birth that he is black. Instead, I invite you to see the world through Mark's eyes. Mark learned to read when he was three years old -- books based on the white American style of life with pictures of blond, blue-eyed suburbia, with decent interspersing of browns and brunettes - but no blacks. He watched the "educational" newsreel on television, which for him reinforced the rightness of whiteness. The man in the white hat - beating the black man with a billy club and then kicking him into insensibility - was the good guy. He was the protector of our individual rights. The books said so.

Black is the night which Mark fears, vanquished by the white of day. White is the knight on the white horse charging the black stains of daily living, and they all vanish. Black is unwanted; black is weak and easily defeated; black is bad.

I took Mark South with me and placed him in an all-black nursery school while I taught during the day. The first evening, when I brought him home, he was in tears, writhing and retching in painful confusion. "Why did you make me go to school with all those Negroes?"

Then, just like NOW, I dig! Intellectuality had blocked my insight, creating of me a blind broad and of my black son a white racist. In his innocence - or highest sophistry, you see - he had intuitively perceived race not as a color, but as an attitude that he did not exemplify. My arguments to the contrary were completely hushed by his own words: " You said I could be anything I choose, and I choose to be white. I am white."

I returned North and searched both public and university libraries for literature with both pictures and narrative with which he might relate. Little Black Sambo? Oh no, dear God! Where are the black men of history, the Nat Turners, the Veseys, the Prossers? The uncompromising, unprecedented, unheralded warriors for true democracy?

I found a book about John Henry, with all the usual legendary verbiage. But it had pictures - pictures of John Henry as a big, black and beautiful baby: pictures of a handsome, adventurous black youth; and then a picture of dynamic, virile, muscle-bound black man. John Henry, the steel-driving man; a beautiful portrayal of black maleness, bared to the waist, swinging that hammer with all his might. It is with that picture that my son finally identified: an uncompromising image of black maculinity. That's what it's all about, baby.

I doubled up my search for books that pictured black and white children running and laughing together, while black and white mothers shopped and lunched together, while black and white fathers worked and played together. I found a few. Mark had no difficulty identifying me in the pictures, but only recently could he find himself. Eventually, I overheard him speak of himself as a little brown boy, and I rejoiced - deeply, I say - that he was finding his way out.

Now, I have brought him East and have enrolled him in a kindergarten where all the other children are white. But I have not yet been able to send him to that school, although soon legally I will have to send him. What can be done to save my child from a plunge into utter confusion? What can be done to help my little black boy?

What can the world of education do to alleviate his pain - and mine? Must he grow like Topsy: confused, angry, alienated, lighting chaotic fires from the burning bitterness within? By America's guilt-ridden permissiveness, will he be ignored to become a black-helmeted, black-booted, black-bigoted replica of the swastika? Will my son see the necessity of asserting his blackness, his maleness, militantly and insensitively, riding roughshod over all who might in any manner oppose? Or, can the world of education, with all its demonstrated expertise, utilize the precociousness of my little black boy for the building of a better world for all people? Now? When? Now is the answer.

Today Mark told me he is going to be an eagle and fly high above the earth where nobody will be able to stop him. That speaks to me. I gaze into Mark's face as he lies peacefully sleeping. With all the normal pains of growing, what utter, needless trauma I know he must also face tomorrow - unless change is made to happen.

Bitterness wells up within me, too, and I wretchedly whisper into his unheeding ear the words of a writer who must also have known deep human agony over the inhumanity of man to man:

> Oh pardon me, thou bleeding piece of earth,
> That I am meek and gentle with these butchers.

AN ASIAN AMERICAN STUDENT

A Brief Biographical Sketch of A Newly-Found Asian Male

... because we lived in a predominantly black area, the school which I attended was also predominantly black ... I was the only Asian attending the school at that time. My experience at this elementary school was pure hell. All the other kids referred to me as being white or non-black. The classic phrase of "Ching Chong Chinaman sitting on a fence, trying to make a dollar out of fifteen cents" was tossed at me constantly. ... It wasn't a normal day if I didn't get picked on or beat up ... By the end of my first year in elementary school, I was hurt, confused, and didn't know what to do or who to turn to. Fortunately, by this time my parents had earned enough money for us

to move out of this area and settle down elsewhere. ... Franklin (the new school) was an integrated school. My parents who had, by this time, sensed what I had encountered at (the other school), felt I would be better off attending this school. They were also white-conscious and wanted me to assimilate into the white society. They also felt that this was as good a place to start as any. But they were wrong and so was I. I still suffered the same rejections and hurts as I had experienced at Prescott, but this time it was twice as bad. Not only did the blacks not accept me and considered me white, the whites wouldn't accept me either and labeled me non-white or even black on various occasions. I was in the middle as many other Asians were. Because I was a sensitive kid at the time, it sort of hurt me a little more than the others to be in the middle ...

By the time I reached the third grade I was desperate. I had to do something. I couldn't stand it anymore. I was even at the point where I would cry sometimes when the other kids made fun of me. Then I discovered a way to get the kids off my back and to make allies. I noticed that if you cry or get mad when they're shooting on you, you just prolong it by crying and getting mad. But if you laugh and start to come down on yourself, they let up real soon. I quickly became the school clown by cutting myself and my race down. The other kids started to become my friends because of this ...

Cutting down on myself and my race didn't bother me too much. I sort of enjoyed it. I hated what I was, being Chinese, that is; my parents had the most to do with that. They expected too much from me. They wanted me to be this, do that, go here, read this, etc... The thing that annoyed me the most about being Chinese was having to go to Chinese school. Boy! Did I hate that. I just couldn't dig it. I couldn't figure out why I should spend two extra hours each day after school attending this crummy institution. I was practically forced to by my parents...

By the sixth grade I had developed a philosophy. "There are only two groups of people in the world, Blacks and Whites, and if you're gonna make it in this world you'd better be part of one or the other." Because I grew up in a Black neighborhood and ... most of my buddies or friends were Black, I chose to become a member of the Black group...

... Then (in high school) I had a date with one of the very heavy chicks on the Asian Caucus. Not only was she very heavy but a very fine chick. On the date we started talking. I started showing her my usual jive that the other chicks really dug. I felt uncomfortable, then she laid it on me. "What's wrong with you? You're not Black, you're yellow, quit talking and acting like one! Start thinking about your brothers and sisters About how you can help them and yourself"...

A NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENT

MY SCHOOL MEMORIES WHEN A CHILD

At the age of five I was sent to Indian Boarding School at Wahpeton, North Dakota, with my two older sisters. Mother says that the parting was not as she had expected, because we actually didn't know how long or where we were going. I didn't know at the time that I wouldn't be seeing my parents, brothers, or sisters for three long years.

This experience I will always remember as long as I live. My sisters and I didn't know a word of English, so we could only communicate with each other, or other kids from Belcourt, who also attended school there. I remember getting there late at night and being taken into a very large room where I was separated from my sisters.

My memory is sort of hazy as to what happened after that. I do remember some incidents, the memories of ones I liked or disliked mostly. We were taught the rules of marching. Getting up at 6:30 in the morning created quite a problem to all the young ones there. After some time I became accustomed to most of the very strict rules laid down for us to follow, but not without a lot of confusion. Many was the time I was scolded for doing things wrong. What was right? Everything we did was very strange to us. Why did we have to learn differently all that we had been taught from our parents?

When I look back into those years, I feel that we were actually in an army; very strict discipline was imposed upon us. We were not allowed to speak our native language. I was kept away from my sisters or others with whom I could converse in the Cree language. We simply had to forget and learn to speak English. Learn I did. I remember crying nights, wondering where Ma and Pa were. I wanted so much to be with them, and so I cried many nights, but each day stretched into another day until I didn't feel anymore. I was beginning to forget, I suppose. Now, whenever I thought of home I had a hard time trying to visualize the faces of my parents. I sometimes feel their motive was for us to forget everything Indian, but why, I wondered, didn't my skin turn whiter as the years passed by?

A CHICANO STUDENT

LETTER TO SOCIETY

You tell me that I am a criminal. You say that I am no good. That I should be like you so that I may be a good citizen.

I have been told these things all my life. My teacher doesn't want me to speak Spanish because it is no good. I should not be a Catholic because it is no good. I should not have brown skin because it is no good. I should not be so loyal to my friends because it is no good. I should not be so clannish because it is not the American way.

I now only speak English, I am no longer a Catholic, I have quit being loyal to my friends, and I am no longer clannish. I have changed everything but the color of my skin. And what have I become; a brown man who has no belief in God, cannot speak his parents' language, who has been a traitor to his friends and an outcast of his people.

I have tried to be like you and now you tell me I am a criminal. Isn't this what you wanted, or is it because I couldn't change the color of my skin that I am still no good?

Teachers' Manual

CURRICULUM GUIDE FOR

CLASS SESSION ON

ACTION PLANS

SESSION NINE

GOAL: To provide class members with an opportunity to discuss together their feelings and ideas regarding the desegregation of Seattle Public Schools and to develop individual and group action plans in relation to that issue.

By this time in the series of adult classes on desegregation, the class members have had an opportunity to find out about the history of desegregation efforts in Seattle and across the United States, to learn about the interaction between desegregation and the law, to find out what prominent community groups think about school desegregation, to discuss the theological implications of segregation, and to find out specifically about what is being planned for Seattle.
This class session is intended as an open-ended discussion to allow class members to identify how they feel about desegregation and what they might do to support efforts to end racial segregation in this area.

MATERIALS; Chalk board and chalk, or a large piece of paper and a felt pen. In addition, class members can be provided with paper and pencil.

FORMAT :

1. Ask class members to identify specific things they have learned during the series of sessions. List these things on the chalk board or paper.

2. Ask class members to list as many things as they can think of that they could do to support the end to public school segregation in Seattle. List these on the chalk board or piece of paper. This list should be as extensive as possible. It might include such items as a) attending informational meetings on desegregation, b) if their local school is involved, visiting the other school(s) involved in the pair or triad, and meeting parents and staff there, c) talking with friends, family and acquaintances about desegregation, d) organizing support for peaceful implementation of the Seattle Plan, etc.

3. Ask the class to prioritize the list of tasks for themselves. This can be done individually. Each class member may select one or more things which they feel they can do.

4. Ask class members to write for themselves a "personal contract" specifying what they will do to support school desegregation in Seattle. This contract does not have to be shared with the group unless class members wish to do so.

5. Identify one group action -- something which the entire class wishes to participate in together -- and develop a strategy for carrying this out.

NOTE : Additional material on ideas for action, as well as information on resources available for conflict resolution is attached on the following sheet.

ACTION PLANS AND CONFLICT PREVENTION

The following are some suggested strategies for members of congregations to become involved in a supportive way with desegregation efforts in Seattle; the list is not intended to be exhausive, but does list some strategies used in Seattle and elsewhere in the past. In addition, resources are available in the community for preventing and resolving conflict. In providing congregations with information on conflict prevention, we are not assuming that conflict necessarily will occure in Seattle, but that it could, and to inform you of resources available.

Action Plans

1. Become involved in the planning for school programs in paired and triaded schools. Member of congregations who live in areas with paired and triaded elementary schools and the secondary schools into which these feed, or live in areas which are developing "magnet" or "program option" plans to support desegregation, have the opportunity the participate in local school planning and implementation. This planning generally is taking place through a local PTA or parent group organization; frequently a Human Relations Committee exists in local schools. Parents and interested community members can attend local meetings; information on meetings can generally be obtained by calling a local school.

2. Supporting orientations to new building for parents and students. Schools presently involved in pairs and triads and secondary schools involved in the plan will be open to groups of parents and community members who wish to look at these facilities. It is often very reassuring to parents to visit the school into which their children will be transferring and to tour the neighborhood in which the school is located. It is always desireable to arrange for such a school tour by calling the local principal and arranging for a specific time for the visit. During the Spring and Summer, tours and orientations for parents and students will be scheduled by the Distirct.

3. Rumor Control. It is not uncommon for "rumors" to develop during the time a desegregation plan is being implemented. Everyone can play a role in avoiding the spread of unconfirmed information. At the present time numberous decisions remain to be made about the implementation of the Seattle Plan, and therefore specific answers to specific questions may not be available. However, an information number is available through the School District (587-5058) where parents and citizens can address questions. In addition, it is always a good idea to question sources of information that are passed on that have the potential for being emotionally upsetting. We have all played the game of "telegraph" as children, and remember how distorted a message becomes when it is passed on through several individuals--rumors grow in this manner.

4. Social Events for paired and triaded communities. In order to begin to develop a new "community" within paired and triaded schools, social events such as pot luck dinners, picnics can be planned, taking turns meeting in each paired/triaded school area. This could be arranged through churches in specific areas or through school PTA or parent groups.

5. Human Relations Training. The school district provides human relations training for some members of the community when it holds workshops for staff. Information about these workshops can be obtained by calling the District's In-Service Training Office at 587-6402. This training is invaluable as we all become more extensively involved in a multi-racial community. Congregational members may wish to participate in this training as individuals or with a group.

Conflict Prevention

The following resources are available to you for training in conflict prevention/ and conflict resolution:

1. The Rev. Dr. David Colwell, Chairperson of the Church Council Task Force on Racial Justice in Education, has arranged for conflict-prevention training through the Seattle Pastoral Institute. Rev. Colwell can be reached at Plymouth Church, 622-4865.

2. The School District has conflict resolution teams available; for more information call Art Kono at 587-3432.

RESOURCE PEOPLE

The following individuals can be contacted directly to be invited to speak at an adult education class or forum. If you would prefer, arrangements for speakers can be made by calling Ann Siqueland or Nancy Carlin at the Office of the Church Council of Greater Seattle, 525-1213. It is desirable to arrange for resource people as far as possible in advance to insure that they are available.

SESSION ONE : DESEGREGATION HISTORY

Mr. Eugene Peterson
Instructor, Social Sciences Division, Seattle Community College, Central Campus 1718 Broadway, Seattle, Washington 98102, 587-4065. Mr. Peterson is past Chairperson Central Area School Council, and past member of the District Wide Advisory Committee on Desegregation. He wrote material on the history of school desegregation in Seattl which appears in the book.

Dr. Hubert G. Locke
Vice President for Academic Affairs and Provost, University of Washington, AH-20, Seattle, Washington 98195, 543-5340. Dr. Locke has had experience with school desegregation in Omaha and Detroit, and has a Divinity background. Among material he has published concerning the desegregation issue is a book,THE CARE AND FEEDING OF WHITE LIBERALS, Newman Press, 1970. He wrote material appearing in the history section of this book.

SESSION TWO : DESEGREGATION LAW

Mr. Phillip Mortenson
Part-time instructor, Seattle University, and an attorney; Mortenson & Jewett, 608 United Pacific Building, 1000 2nd Avenue, Seattle, Washington 98104, 682-6916. Mr. Mortenson wrote the legal section of this book, and part of the section on segregation remedies.

An attorney from your congregation might also be used as a resource person for this session.

SESSION THREE : SEGREGATION REMEDIES

Mr. Phillip Mortenson (See Session Two)
Ms. Nancy Carlin
Assistant Coordinator, Desegregation Project, Church Council of Greater Seattle, 4759 15th Avenue NE, Seattle, Washington 98105, 525-1213. Ms. Carlin wrote part of the section on segregation remedies and the article summarizing community opinion.

SESSION FOUR : COMMUNITY OPINION

Dr. Richard Andrews
Associate Professor of Educational Administration, University of Washington, Miller Hall, Seattle, Washington 98195, 543-1836. Dr. Andrews is the Chairperson of the District Wide Advisory Committee on Desegregation and can discuss the community cooperation necessary both to have adopted the Seattle Plan and to implement it.

Mr. Donald Kazama

Retired Social Worker, member of the District's Bilingual Advisory Committee, past member of the Citizens Committee for Quality Education, member of the Board of the Coalition for Quality Integrated Education, member of the Task Force on Racial Justice in Education, Church Council of Greater Seattle; 3042 19th Ave. S., Seattle, Washington 98144, 725-3472. Mr. Kazama is particularly knowledgable about bilingual programs, and how those programs will be affected by desegregation efforts.

Organizations who have specific positions on the issue of school desegregation can be contacted directly to speak on their position.

SESSION FIVE : SLIDE SHOW

Ms. Ann Siqueland
Desegregation Project Coordinator, Church Council of Greater Seattle, 4759 15th NE, Seattle, Washington 98105, 525-1213.

SESSION SIX : A THEOLOGICAL VIEW OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

The Desegregation Project has available a tape made by a multi-racial group of Seattle area clergy discussing the theological implications of school desegregation. This tape can be obtained by calling Ann Siqueland or Nancy Carlin at the Church Council, 525-1213. The Pastor or Rabbi of your congregation can be used as a resource person for this class session.

SESSION SEVEN : THE SEATTLE PLAN

A member of the School District staff, a School Board member, or a member of the District Wide Advisory Committee on Desegregation can be invited to speak at this session. Contact Ann Siqueland or Nancy Carlin at the Church Council, 525-1213 for assistance in aranging a speaker.

SESSION EIGHT : DEVELOPING ACTION PLANS

The Desegregation Project can provide assistance to congregations wishing to become involved in the implementation of the Seattle Plan in their local school. Contact Ann Siqueland or Nancy Carlin at the Church Council, 525-1213 for further information.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN SEATTLE

". . . While tremendous strides have been made in the desegregation of public education, there have also been more than isolated instances of resistance to this effort at social change. The constitutional mandate is clear; the legal precedents have been firmly established. The question is no longer one of whether to integrate schools, but rather how to do so." (Ray Rist, Head, Desegregation Studies Staff, Educational Equity Group, The National Institute of Education)

Seattle is now faced with the enormous and complicated task of desegregating its public schools. The question of how to do it is complex and rife with legal, moral, and social issues. To assist Seattleites in gaining a broader understanding of the whys and wherefores of desegregation, the Education Department of the Seattle Public Library has compiled a selected list of books which treat legal, social and historical aspects of school desegregation. This is only a partial listing of the great volume of materials available through the Library and you are encouraged to telephone the Education Department staff with requests for these titles, as well as any others in which you may be interested.

371.94 Berman, Daniel M.
B4561 It is so ordered. New York, Norton, 1966.

371.94 Blaustein, A.P.
B613D Desegregation and the lay. New Brunswick, Rutgers University, 1957.

371.94 Bolner, James
B638B Busing: the political and judicial process. New York, Praeger, 1974.

371.94 Bouma, Donald H.
B665D Dynamics of school integration. Grand Rapids, MI, W.B. Eerdmans, 1968.

371.94 Campbell, Ernest Q.
C151W When a city closes its schools. Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. Carolina, 1960.

371.94 Caughey, John.
C31T To kill a child's spirit. Itasca, IL, F.E. Peacock, 1973.

371.94 Coles, Robert
C679C Children of crisis. Boxton, Little-Brown, c.1964-1967.

371.94 Dentler, Robert A. and others (eds.)
D434U Urban R's: race relations as the problem in urban education. New York, Praeger, 1967.

371.94 DuBois, W. E. B.
D852E The education of black people: ten critiques 1906-1960. Amhurst, MA, University of Massachusetts, 1973.

371.96 Educationally deprived, the potential for change. by Kenneth B. Clark and
Ed83 and others. N.Y., Metropolitan Applied Research Center, 1972.

371.94 Edwards, Thomas Bentley
Ed98S School desegregation in the North. San Francisco, Chandler, 1967

371.94 Green, R. L.
G825R Racial crisis in American education. Chicago, Follett, 1969.

371.97 Heath, G. Louis
H351R Red, Brown and black demands for better education. Philadelphia, Westminster, 1972.

379.14 Hudgins, H. C.
H866W Warren Court and the public schools: an analysis of landmark Supreme Court decisions. Danville, IL, Interstate Printers, 1970.

371.94 Mack, Raymond W. ed.
M19o Our children's burden. New York, Random, 1968.

371.94 National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.
N213P Public school segregation and integration in the North. WA, D.C., 1964.

371.94 Petroni, Frank A.
P448T Two, four, six, eight, when you gonna integrate? New York, Behavioral Publications, 1970.

371.94 Rubin, Lillian
R824B Busing and backlash. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1972.

371.94 St. John, Nancy
Sa23S School desegregation: outcomes for children. N.Y., Wiley, 1975

373.747 Saltzman, Harold
Sa37R Race war in high school. New Rochelle, N.Y., Arlington House, 1972.

371.94 Sullivan, Neil V.
Su55N Now is the time. Bloomington, IN University Press, 1970.

371.94 United States Commission on Civil Rights
Un3D Desegregating the Boston public schools. WA, D.C., U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975.

371.94 Weinberg, Meyer
W431 Integrated education. Beverly Hills, CA, Glencoe Press, 1968.

379.73 Weinberg, Meyer
W43R Race and place: a legal history of the neighborhood school. Wash., D.C., U. S. Department of Health, Education, Welfare, Office of Education, 1967.

371.94 West, Earle H.
W52B The Black American and education. Columbus, OH, C.E. Merrill Pub., 1972.

379.11 Wise, Arthur E.
W754R Rich schools, poor schools: the promise of equal educational opportunity. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968.

371.94 Wright, Nathan, Jr. ed.
W934W What Black educators are saying. New York, Hawthorn Books, 1970.

KZAM Sunday (January 30, 1977) Mag broadcast on School Desegregation. Taped two-hour radio program dealing with the past history and present situation of Seattle's public school system. Produced by Lee Somerstein and Mark Elliot. Tape cassettes are available for checkout from the Education Department of the downtown Library.